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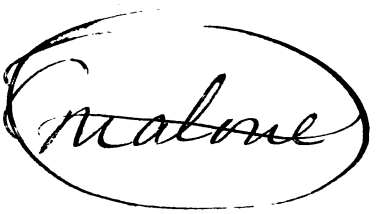


Gough Adds. Kent.
8°. 85

Alfred John Duncan

MEMORANDA

OF

SPRINGHEAD

AND

ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD,

During the Primeval Period.

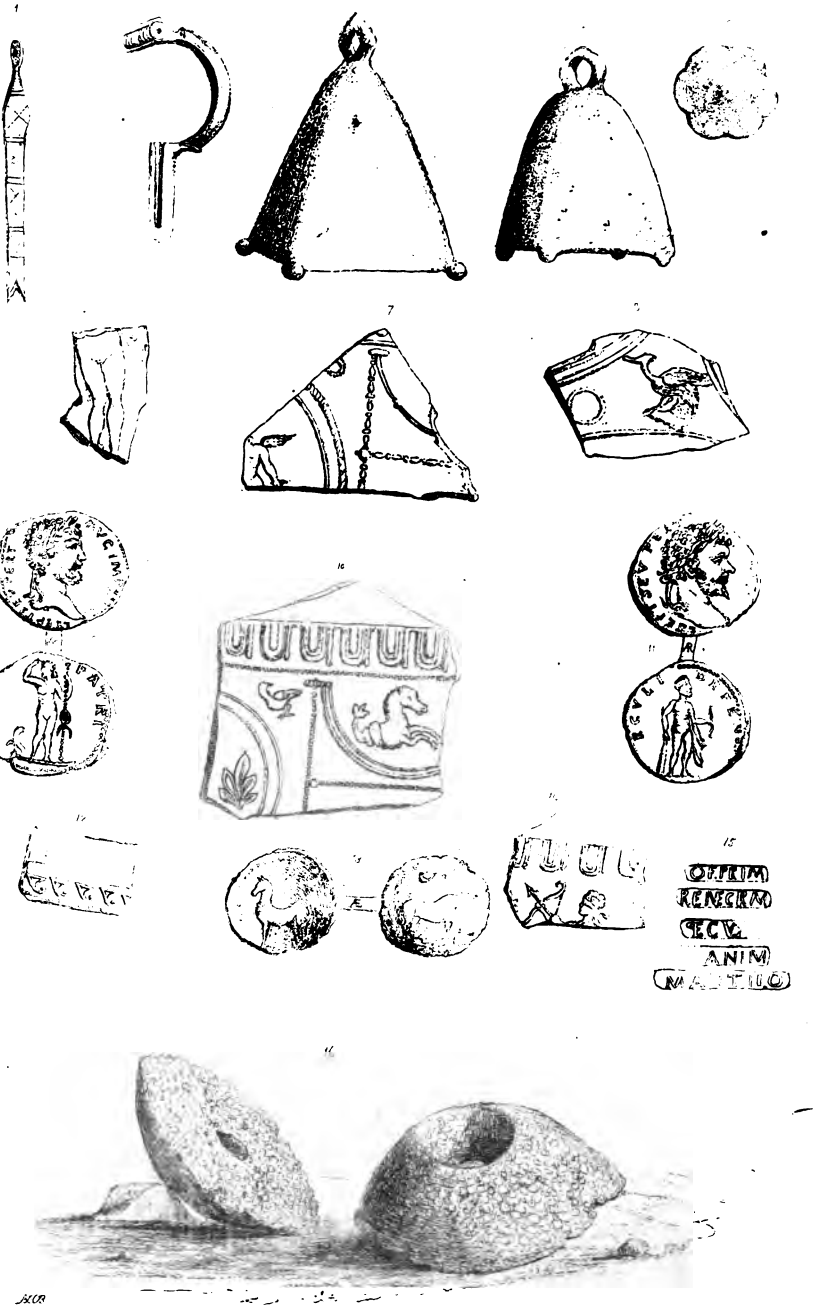
ONE HUNDRED COPIES
PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION.

1848.

Advertisement.

WHEN this tract was commenced printing eighteen months since, it was intended to have made a thick volume, in fact, to be "A History of Kent in the Primeval Period," but circumstances, over which the author had no control, compelled him to vary his plans no less than three times—during which interval, the great discoveries made in various parts of the county, also induced him to change his opinion on one of the theories mooted.

However, the author does not despair of being enabled to present the public in a few years, with a work upon Springhead and its neighbourhood, agreeably to his original design, for which he has accumulated vast materials. He likewise lives in hope, that it will be his fortune to describe in it, the discoveries which he anticipates will be made at the still-deferred thorough exploration, which is to take place at some yet un-named period, of the massive and extensive remains in Barque lands; and also minutely detail the contents of the adjacent tumuli in Stone-Park and Swanscombe woods. Tasks long since promised to be undertaken, by the lord of the properties, and both, yet to be accomplished!



ROMAN ANTIQVITIES discovered at SPRINGHEAD KENT.

An Enquiry,

&c. &c.

CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTION.

"Temples? Baths? or Halls?
Pronounce who can: for all that learning reap'd
From her research, hath been, that these are walls.
There is the moral of all human tales—
'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past:
First freedom—and then glory; when that fails
Wealth, vice, corruption—barbarism at last:
And history, with all her volume vast,
Hath but one page—'tis better written here."

CHILDE HAROLD.

FEW subjects present greater attractions to archaeologists than enquiries into the histories of the earliest inhabitants of Britain. Amongst the sites first selected by the aborigines for settlements, were the eastern and western fruitful heights overlooking the fertile vale watered by the river Ebbsfleet. On these elevated spots, towns were formed by two distinct tribes, who, thenceforward, actively participated in the different revolutions, which have occurred in the island; since, in times long antecedent to our era, its shores were first trodden by human foot. But unfortunately, of these struggles not even a traditionary legend remains.

These obscure periods, which some British historians have briefly dismissed, "as utterly unworthy notice;" recent investigations and laborious researches have proved to be replete with important and curious memorials. Supposing even that these vestiges do not furnish sufficient data, wherefrom to compile detailed and lucid annals—yet it must be admitted, that they are nevertheless, of satisfactory significance to claim the careful consideration of those who have a due sympathy for their fellow creatures.

Comparatively a short period after the advent of our blessed Saviour, there was a Roman town in the valley, of considerable magnitude—far advanced in all the elegancies and refinements of social life. A fact, amply attested by the sculptures, ornamented pottery, vases, Samian ware,[1] querns,[2] jewellery, domestic utensils, sacrificial debris, sepulchral deposits, &c., which have been exposed, since cultivation has again converted the site to the use of man. These relics combine to

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[1] The earliest settlers used stone mullers and grinding troughs of a similar material for pounding their grain. For an engraving of some of the querns found at Springhead, vide fig. 16, plate iii,—kindly etched by Horace Burkett, esq.

[2] The superior kind of pottery, of a bright red colour, usually termed "Samian," has been supposed, with reason, to be of that kind so named by the younger Pliny, who mentions its being made at various continental towns, and exported to all parts of the empire; and its identity seems confirmed, says Charles Roach Smith, esq., from being met with in abundance in all places occupied by the Romans. This pottery is not less remarkable for its fine texture and rich coraline hue, than for the great diversity of its ornaments. Fabroni, in his history of the antient Aretine vases, has lately sought to prove, that this was the kind of ware fabricated at

show, that on this spot, was concentrated a mighty population, enjoying all the luxuries, gratifications and pleasures, wealth and influence could procure. And since, to the ruined edifices of the Romans we are greatly indebted for the proportions and decorations of our present architecture, it is important, that these monuments and vestiges, which happy accidents have presented to our notice, should be explored and preserved.

"Well may the sad beholder ween from thence,
What works of wonder all devouring time
Has swallowed there, when monuments so brave
Bear record of their old magnificence."

Aretium, and of which, mention is made by Virgil, Persius and Martial. Isidore of Seville, who wrote in the seventeenth century, speaks of the red ware as being the manufacture of Aretium, and cites Sedulius, a poet who flourished before the christian era, in confirmation of the statement. Vases of this description have been repeatedly found near Arezzo; and Francesco Rossi, who formed a collection of this kind of ware, and made careful researches respecting the manufacture, discovered in the neighbourhood of that town, the furnaces and implements of the potter's art. Numerous potter's marks are to be noticed upon the specimens found there; these marks differ in certain peculiarities from those which occur in specimens found in England, the style of these Aretine vases seems to be more delicate, and is probably the original which subsequently served as a model for the fictile manufacturers of the provinces. Mr. Artis discovered at Caistor, in Northamptonshire, a smother kiln and all the apparatus for potters' mysteries. The reader is referred for an account of Mr. Artis's labours, to his Durobrivæ of Antoninus, and the Journal of the British Archaeological Association. For specimens of some of the Samian ware discovered at Springhead, vide figs. 7, 8, 10, 12, and 14, plate iii; and fig. 2. plate v.

So completely was the destruction of the Roman town accomplished, that, until, towards the close of the last century, a vague tradition alone existed among the peasantry, that, "in this valley, once stood a large and fair city." The same medium, filled it with "public houses and churches,"[3] adding, moreover, "that the stream of the Ebbs was navigable for large ships, even to the church of Southfleet." Modern discoveries have proved, that in some respects, tradition did not err; since, of late years, the plough and the spade have exposed multitudes of coins in admirable preservation, once in common circulation, together with massive foundations of mansions, baths, public buildings, and antient temples

> "Erst resonant with instrument and song,
> And solemn dance of festive multitude."

Different, indeed, was the landscape that lay around, from the aspect which that part of the country now presents. In the valley to the north-east, a full view of which, the Watling-street commanded, (where now, the water-cress plantations[4] and the far-famed

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[3] In Mr. Kempe's account of the discoveries at Holwood hill, he says, "in that neighbourhood there was a tradition of there being a large town called Beaverstone or Plaxton, which vulgar report in talking much of the extent of its buildings frequently combining the grossest anachronisms, &c., says that it contained some sixteen public houses, not being willing to have the antient town unfurnished with a matter of such indispensable comfort to the commonality of modern days." *Archæologia*, xxii.

[4] To the marshy soil may be attributed the fine condition in which the majority of the relics of the Roman period have been preserved.

Springhead strawberry beds are to be found,) then lay a densely-populated city—for which, the local situation was admirably adapted ; Nature having blessed it with fertility of soil and salubrity of climate. To an exterior vallum constructed for the purpose of protecting the outer fosse of that celebrated *via militaris*, flowed up the Ebbs—on the western bank of which, was the noble navalium, fully described in subsequent pages—whilst the Roman fleet rode securely at anchor in the creek's sheltered harbour. Instead of the wide expanse of water which eighteen hundred years ago occupied the estuary—now, changed by the silent operations of natural and indirect artificial causes can only be beheld a dwindled streamlet, solely preserved for the cultivation of esculent vegetables,

"To what base uses may we come at last."

During the lapse of years between the departure of the Romans and the Norman conquest, the ferocious Saxons wantonly destroyed the artificial barriers which had retained the tides in submission to the rule of man—then, the channel silted up—and by slow but certain processes, the desolate salt marshes became fine and fertile soil, easily yielding to the industrious agriculturist bounteous harvests.

With the ambitious design of preserving from oblivion the almost obliterated memorials of extinct nations, these pages have been penned ;—and, after, a careful scrutiny of contiguous chronology and of the circumstantial evidence in existence, an attempt has been made to furnish an Account of the Towns and the Occupants of the Valley and its Neighbourhood in the olden time.

The execution of the endeavour will be judged by the reader. The facts adduced, will, however, demonstrate, that more than twice[5] during the primeval period, did Britain attain comparatively, a high state of civilization; from which, she was suddenly hurled into more than midnight darkness by bloody invasions.

The desire of examining the transactions and proceedings of periods of time wrapped in an almost impenetrable veil of obscurity, is one of the phases of the developement of the human mind, which has alike characterised the eras of civilization and of barbarism; and not merely an acquired taste confined to some particular age or country.

A calm and patient investigation in the rude legends and traditions of a predial peasantry, and a philosophical examination of the fables of the "dark ages," combined with a comparison of the pages of the inspired and classic authors, assisted by analogical hypotheses, will enable the plodding antiquary to winnow from the heap of absurdities, pure grains of historic information; and when record and tradition equally fail, he is often enabled by enquiries into the affinities and peculiarities of manners and languages, to enlighten the dark allusions, and unravel the mysterious difficulties of antient authorities.

And after perusing the following memoranda relating to four races of men, who, great in their generation,

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[5] "The history of the monarchs of this primeval period, as given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, is absolutely unworthy of credit, and ought to be banished to the region of fiction and romance."—*Mc'Pherson, Crit. Diss.*

and noble in their attributes, reared monuments in their respective eras[6] only to be rased[7]; the impression on the reader's mind can scarcely fail to be indelible,—that, here below

"All is Vanity."

Dust thou art, and unto Dust shalt thou return.

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[6] The Aborigines. The Belgæ. The Romans. The Romano-British.

[7] Bishop Jewell says, "cities fall, kingdoms come to nothing,—empires fade away as the smoke! Where is Numa, Minos, Lycurgus? Where are their books? What is become of their laws?"

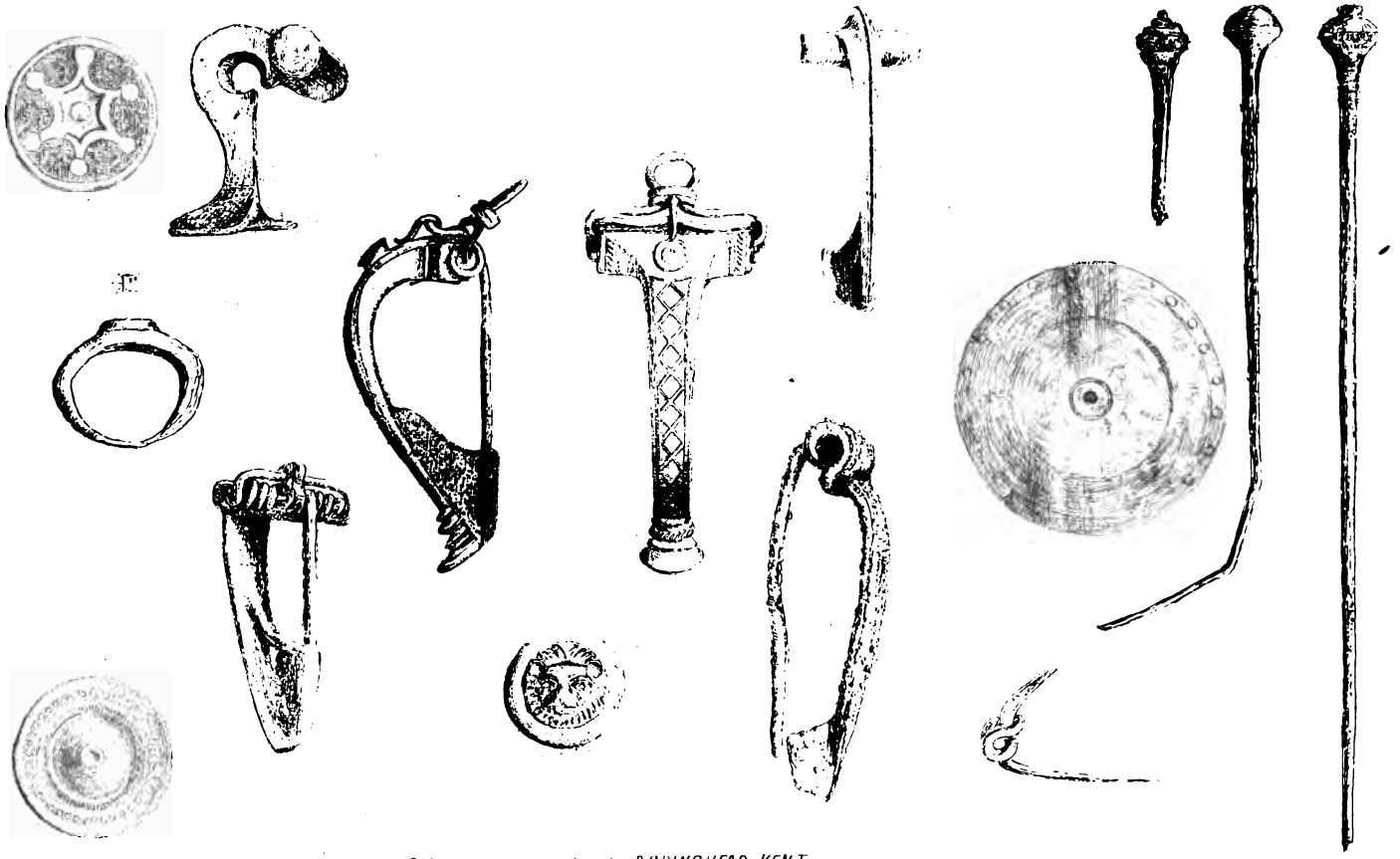
CHAP. II.

ETYMOLOGY.

NAMES, says Mr. Frederick C. Lukis, however common, have some meaning; therefore they should be well considered: and the antiquary knows the value of examining further when these occur. He also observes, that on many occasions, within the range of his researches, he has had nothing but the name to stimulate or encourage him, and seldom has he been disappointed. *Obsns. on the Prim. Antiq. of the Channel Islands. Arch. Jl.* i. 145.

IN the second, third and fourth centuries a Roman city existed in the fertile vale of the Ebbs—the Watling-street from the sea-coast to the interior of the island running through its centre;—and in proportion as this city progressed gradually to splendour and magnificence, two British towns on the eastern and western heights fell into irrecoverable decay. These towns[8] are supposed to have been founded about

[8] "The Romans found more than twenty towns among two nations only, upon the southern shore of the island." *Whit. Manch.* i. 3. *apud Suetonius—Vespasian.* The copy in the British Museum, of Whitaker's History of Manchester, has appended (we were going to write, is defaced by) Francis Douce's hypercritical notes,—notes some of them as remarkable for their illogical reasoning as for their impertinence. Gibbon whose learning and research are indisputable, repeatedly quotes with most favourable observations, "the particular historian of Manchester," whose work, he says "embraces [illegible] that obscure title, a subject almost as extensive as the gene[illegible]ry of England." *Decline and Fall. ch.* 38. The two na-



ROMAN FIBULÆ &c discovered at SPRINGHEAD KENT

sixteen or seventeen centuries anterior to the Christian era; and at the arrival of the Romans, their inhabitants were celebrated for their learning, virtues, and the cultivation of the arts[9] they possessed.

In both these settlements, at various periods, flint and metal celts, and arrow heads,[10] have

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tions alluded to by Suetonius, were probably the Belgæ and Damnonii. The incidental remarks of Julius Cæsar, Diodorus Siculus, Pomponius Mela, Strabo and others, tend also to show the populousness of Britain and the amazing number of towns it contained.

[9] *King's Mun. Antiq.* i.—*Archael.* xxvi.—*Borlase's Cornwall*, 287. *Whit. Manch.* i.—*Dioscorid. lib.* ii. *c.* 110.—*Orosius.*—*Xiphil. etc.*

[10] *Vide Thorpe's Cust. Roff. pass.*—At Dartford, in 1844, a fine celt was picked up at the very spot, where it is supposed Cæsar crossed the Darent. It is of grey flint, seven inches and a half long, and six inches in circumference in the widest part. It is now in the possession of R. Wilks, esq., Dartford. Subsequently to the discovery of the above, a metal celt was found in an adjoining field, on the same route; it now forms an ornament in the museum of E. Cresy, esq., F.R.S. Darenth. *Report of the Proceedings of the Brit. Archaeological Association at the Canterbury Congress. p.* 135. An account of another discovery of celts in the neighbourhood, will be found in the chapter of this volume, devoted to Cæsar's second Cantian Expedition, under the head of THONG. The word celt is used in the Vulgar translation of Job, for a chisel; and was therefore originally adopted in that sense by the writers on these instruments, says F. Douce in his MS. notes to Whit. Manc.* Sir Wm. Betham, at the First Congress of the British Archaeological Association, maintained in contradistinction to other members, that the celts were never used for battle axes, but simply as adzes for

* We have already noticed in a preceding page, Mr. Douce's Notes to Whitaker's Manchester,—the note we have quoted above may be taken as a specimen:—the word "CHISEL" does *not occur* in the book of Job, nor in any other book of the Old or New Testament that we are aware. The word AXE is of frequent occurrence. It is used in Judges 9. 48, as a carpenter's tool.—Figuratively, as the King of Assyria, Isa. 10, 15.—God's vengeance, Mat. 3, 10.—Vide also, Deut. 19, 5.—20, 19.—Jud. 9. 48.—1 Sam. 13. 20.—1 Kings 6. 7.—2 Kings 6. 5.—Jer. 10. 3.—51. 20.—AXES, 1 Sam. 13. 21.—2 Sam. 12. 31.—1 Chr. 20. 3.—Psa. 74. 5.—Jer. 46. 22.—Ezek. 26. 9.

been picked up; but unfortunately they have been given by the finders, to individuals, who, it is feared, were hardly sufficient archaeologists to have appreciated the presents, and unhappily, they are now dispersed.

At the commencement of the present century, these aboriginal towns[1] and the Roman city, were, alike, types of the old story,

"jam seges[2] Troja fuit."

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cleaving wood. That the Britons cast celts, spear, and arrow-heads, was proved by the discovery in 1735, at Easterly Moor near York, of one hundred heads, with many lumps of metal and a quantity of ashes. The mould of a celt was also found by Sir R. C. Hoare, containing the instrument cast in it. The metal of which the British weapons and tools were made has been chemically analyzed in modern times, and the proportions appear to be, in a spear-head, one part of tin to six of copper; in a celt, one of tin and ten of copper; and in a knife, one of tin to seven and a half of copper. *Meyrick's Orig. Inhab and Phil. Trans. for* 1796. *p.* 395, *etc.* Spear-heads of bone and flint and metal have been found in the barrows on Salisbury Plain. *Ex Epist. H. Hatcher, armig.*

[1] It has been suggested to us, one of these towns might have been that alluded to by Nennius in his *Historia Britonum* ·XXIIII· CAIR COLLON.—If so, it must have been the one upon the eastern heights.

[2] In 1845, Barque-fields and Sole-field, were cultivated with wheat,—whilst, as if to mock the skill of the agriculturists of the nineteenth century, in Mr. Silvester's garden were then growing sundry ears of far finer wheat,—the produce of grains found in a vase hermetically sealed with asphaltum, deposited by the side of a sarcophagus in a tomb at Thebes. The Egyptian wheat and the mummy are considered to have been simultaneously entombed during the reign of one of the seventeen kings, who comprised the eighteenth dynasty of the rulers of Egypt; or to speak clearer to our readers, between the years 1822, B.C., when, the Pharaonic

The sites thereof, are verifications of the words applied by Camden to Richborough, in the reign of the Virgin Queen, "to teach us that cities die as well as men, it is *at this day a corn-field*, wherein, when the corn is grown up, one may observe the draughts of streets crossing one another, for where they have gone, the corn is thinner."

The etymon of this Roman city, we greatly fear, is a mystery, that will ever remain enshrouded in the mantle of oblivion, and we can do little else than hazard conjectural theories. The ingenious Dr. Thorpe imagined it to have been VAGNIACÆ. from a fancied apparent similitude in the pronunciation of "Barquefields" or "Ware's town"; as the lands in the parish of Southfleet, are indiscriminately termed to this day by the rustic population, where the Roman foundations have been discovered.

This hypothesis, for many reasons, we are confident is untenable; and but few antiquaries have been, at any time, converts to the opinion.[3] We diffidently throw out a suggestion, based likewise upon tradition[4],

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throne was occupied by Amunoph I, (as the name is spelt according to the original monument), or Amosis or Thetmosis, (the orthography according to antient writers) and the sway of Remerri in 1476, B.C. That is to say, about the period when Britain was visited by the primal colonists.

[3] Dr. Giles the last editor of Richard of Cirencester's Description of Britain, has servilely copied *Hatcher's Commentary*, published in 1809, and as a matter of course, included the errors that erudite gentleman had fallen into, through not having perambulated the county of Kent. *Dover Chron.* 1844-5, *art. Chron. of Kent.*

[4] It is the ascertained and acknowledged characteristic of all antient tradition, that it preserves the substance, but alters and

a mean often found to furnish true solutions of puzzling etymologies; even after ponderous tomes and massy essays have been devoted by learned writers to the elucidation of a subject. In fact, we are inclined to pay very great respect to oral tradition of names of places, transmitted, as such cognomens have been, from generation to generation; for, we are convinced, such terms were not idly invented, but have been the appellations of the localities; subject simply to the corruptions of an ignorant and uncultivated peasantry's pronunciation; we therefore take the word *Sole*, as the nucleus for a name to this town.[5] But being perfectly aware that we can produce no authorities in confirmation, we throw ourselves entirely upon the mercy of the Archaeological Court, and trust we may not be too severely dealt with. In the modern German

confounds the circumstances of historical truth. *Foster's Hist. Geog. Arab.* i., 22.

[5] In the Itineraries which have descended to our time, the name of Sul Mago is given as a Roman station near London. Mago translated, means city. The foundations in Sole-field, are considered to be the remains of a temple dedicated to the Sun. Dr. Henry says, "all our antiquaries agree in placing *Sullionacæ* at Brockley Hills, where many Roman antiquities have been found. Mr. Baxter and some others, think that this was the capital of the famous Cassivelaunus, which was taken by Julius Cæsar."—*Hist. G. Brit.* ii, 423. The town of Caswallon was on the heights near Dartford, and a recent writer has contended, that the present town of Dartford stands on the site of the station of Noviomagus. *Dunkin's Hist. Dartford*, xxii. Dr. Giles ap. Hatcher, says Sul Mago is on the site of Mr. Napier's house at Brockley Hill. *Rich. Ciren. appx.* C. R. Smith, esq., F.A.S., and other archaeologists, have however repeatedly scrutinized this reputed site of Sul Mago, and after most careful examinations, have been unable to trace any Roman remains whatever. It is moreover the opinion of Mr. S., that Sul Mago was not on Brockley Hill.

dictionaries, we find the word *Sole* rendered salt water,[6] or salt spring; and when the tide flowed up, we are confident the waters of Springhead would hsve been rendered brackish.

Edward Cresy, esq., of South Darenth, observes, in answer to a paper by Mr. A. J. Dunkin, which had appeared in "The Dover Chronicle," "that much might be said upon the etymology of the Roman city at Springhead;" a further communication has been received from that gentleman, which we have great pleasure in presenting to our readers.

South Darenth, 7th June, 1845.

My dear Sir,

I have no doubt that the word "Sole" is derived from the word *solium*. Vitruvius, lib. 9, cap. 3. uses it for the basin or bath containing the water: and Pliny, in his 32nd lib. cap. 18, as the vessel in which the bathers were seated, "*In solium addi*," &c. In the 35th lib., cap. 46, the same writer says that Numa founded a company of potters, but that there were persons who did not like their bodies to be consumed, and their ashes to be put into vessels of pottery—"*Fulilibus soliis*" —but to be buried in the Pythagorean style, with their bodies entire, laid upon leaves of myrtle, olive, and black poplar, in which way M. Varro was interred. Celsus used the word *solium* to signify a bath, or place where bathers resorted—"*Intrare et discendere in solium.*" The learned commentators on Vitruvius, in a note upon the passage first alluded to—"*cum*

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[6] Söhle, and without the *h* Sole, in modern German söle, salt water as it springs from the earth, from which salt is extracted. *Heinsius:* sole—sal—fluidum—wachter. Not far from the spot assumed to have been the site of the Druid temples and groves, and near the large barrow, hereafter described, on an elevated piece of ground, is a deep and never dry pond called "Sole's Pond."

solium discenderet"—seem to imply it was the term made use of for the vessel or place which contained the water in which the bathers' bodies were immersed, in the same manner as the Bath, a city of Roman origin, is called "*Aqua Calida*," and fictile vessels contained the ashes of the bodies of the defunct. "*Aqua Solis*,[7]" and the remains of a temple were found, dedicated to the Solar Minerva, or Minerva Medica.—See *Warner's History, Appendix*, p. 48.

The word "Sole" occurs on the map, so often in the county of Kent, that it would be worth while to trace the road or street which bears that name, and examine the various places that still retain the term. We find it first occuring near the coast at Capell Fern, or Capell Sole, near Folkestone, where a street runs in the direction of St. Radigund's, Swingfield, and other antient sites. Also in the parish of Nonington, in the hundred of Wingham, mention is made of a manor in Domesday, called Soles, Soletone, or Soltone, at West Cliff, in the hundred of Bewsborough. There seems to be some difficulty to connect all these places at present, or to trace a street through them from the coast to that point which is between Wouldham and Crundall, or near the valley of the Stour in its descent from the Wye. After this valley of the Weald was gained, a road at the foot of the downs, or chalk hills, continues almost in a straight line towards Halling; and then, by Luddesdown, to the Sole Street, in the parish of Cobham, the route is traceable enough; but the most important site is that we have already mentioned, viz.:—

At Crundall, or the dale under a hill, which is a small parish north-east from Wye, containing a small number of

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[7] Mr. Hatcher says in a note to the author of "the Chronicles of Kent," that the name on the Bath inscription is *Sulis*. Speaking of Britain generally, Solinus says: "In quo spatio magna et multa flumina, fontes calidi opiparo exculti apparatu ad usus mortalium: quibus fontibus præsul est Minervæ numen, in cujus æde

houses at present: it is situated on the chalk hills. In it are two streets or hamlets, one called Danewood Street, the other Sole Street, which is the principal, where is still held a fair on Whit-Monday.

On Tremworth Downs, on the hill, within a mile of Crundall, some Roman remains werefound in 1678, 1703, 1713, 1757, 1759, &c.—earthenware, glass, female trinkets, a coin of Faustina (the wife of the emperor Marcus Aurelius). All the skeletons were laid with their feet to the south-west.—*Hasted*, vol. 6, p. 369.

It appears curious that a cemetery should appear near a Sole Street, at Crundall, as well as near Sole Field, at Southfleet; and from these places being used by the Romans for interment it would appear that the route called Sole Street was a very important line in those days, as they were in the habit of burying by the road side, and near to waters.

Dover, Crundall, Cobham, and Southfleet, where the name of "Sole" occurs, are almost in a direct line, and Nonington may indicate a branch to Deal or Sandwich. I am satisfied that were this road examined carefully, much that is important would be elicited.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
EDWARD CRESY.

The present name of the River EBBSFLEET is clearly of Saxon origin, and its etymology is self-evident. Ebb—ebba, Saxon, *the reflux of the tide.* Fleet, fleot, flot are all derived from the Saxon ꝑleoꞇ, which signifies *a bay* or *gulph*, or *inlet.*[8] This account is at va-

perpetui ignes nunquam canescunt in favillas, sed ubi ignis tabuit vertitur in globos saxeos. *Solinus, cap.* 22. Richard of Cirencester and later authors have applied the description to Bath.

[8] From this word are derived the Kentish names of North-fleet, South-fleet and Wain-fleet in Lincolnshire. To this may be added

riance with Bishop Percy's statement, that towns and villages are almost universally of Anglo-Saxon derivation, whilst the hills, forests and *rivers* retain their old Celtic names.[9]

This river was inhabited with colonies of beavers[10], who built their towns in its waters, even to the con-

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the inlet called the Fleet, behind the pebble bank near Portland, which also gives name to the village of Fleet. Fleet forms part of a long series of local names as may be seen in the Topog. Dictionaries. In the Terrier of lands belonging to Dartford Priory, (No. 9493, *Arundel MSS. Brit. Mus.*) Fleet when applied to the Darent or Cray, uniformly means a running stream.

[9] "I think this may be accounted for, if we recollect that the British towns were generally on hills, and in situations of difficult access, while the Saxons occupied the Roman towns or formed settlements, on the Roman Roads." *Ex Epist. H. Hatcher, arm.*

[10] "Beavers in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis, (the end of the twelfth century), were found only in the Teivy, in the neighbourhood of Cardigan; but at an earlier period they constructed their towns even in the Severn, where was an Island near Worcester, named in Saxon *Beofer-eage*, the beaver isle. There is also a *Beaver-stone* in Gloucestershire." *Wright's Hist. Ludlow.* In a note, p. 12, ante, we have already mentioned a Beaverstone—the site of which traditionary colony would have been adjacent to the source of the spring, perchance, at the spot where an artificial dam had been placed to form a fish pond, when we saw it last (1842). In fact beavers inhabited the whole of the rivers in the island. "Many plants indigenous to Britain have disappeared: some within the last quarter of a century. You find them in Gerard's Herbal, but not in the fields. Amongst animals there has been a more evident and more remarkable process of destruction. Like the Dodos in the Mauritius, whole races have become extinct within a recent historical period. The beaver built his house on the banks of the stream beneath that summit where the eagle reared her young; and the British names of stream and of rock still remain, the witnesses of the former existence of the inhabitants which have passed away:

quest of the Romans, half a century after the Christian era. The channel, cut by the floods, is still remarka-

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whilst the egret and the crane, the bittern and the bustard have been lost within living memory. The bear and the wild boar ranged the forests at the era of the Conquest,—the latter in the immediate vicinity of London. The wolf continued to infest the fold long after the supposed extirpation of the foe by the tribute which the Basileus of Britain imposed upon his British vassals; but in the loose nomenclature of popular speech, it is very probable that the hyæna of Yorkshire may also have been included among the animals to which the name of 'wolf' was assigned, thus bringing the ossuary of the Kirkdale cave within the period even of the last population of the wolds." *Qterly. Rev.* lxxiv. 299. We have been favoured with a view of some unpublished letters by Dr. Owen Pughe, the author of the Welch Dictionary, and editor of the Myvyrian Archaeology, to which we are indebted, for the following curious matter:—

"I remember one thing in Giraldus, which is ridiculed by Lord Littleton, in his history of Henry II.—The assertion of there being Beavers in the river Teivi.—I would rebut this, by supporting Giraldus with quotations from the laws of Hywel the Good, in 940, by which the then existence of the Beaver is unquestionably proved; and, that too, by a name so characteristic of the animal, as leaves no room to mistake. The name is '*Llostlydan*,' which is happily rendered into English by the epithet '*Spattle-tail*,' than which, no appellation whatever can be more suitable. By the laws, the fur of the Beaver, the Marten, and the common Ermine of this country, were appropriated to trim the royal robes. And, as the value affixed by law on various skins, may excite some curiosity, I annex a list of a few here:—

UNDER THE SECTION OF THE VALUE OF WILD AND TAME BEASTS. *(Wotton's edit. p. 260.)*

The value of a Spattle-tail, is six score pence. The value of a Marten, twenty-four pence. As to the value of a Wolf, the Fox, and various others, which do nothing but mischief, no lawful value has been put upon them, for every body is at liberty to kill them.

THE VALUE OF SKINS. *(Wotton's edit. p. 261.)*

The skin of an Ox, 8d. Skin of a Hart, 8d. Skin of a Cow, 7d. Skin of a Hind, 7d. The skins of a Sheep, a Goat, a Roebuck, and a Roe, 1d. on each of them. Skin of a Fox, 8d. Skin of an Otter, 8d. Skin of a Wolf, 8d. Skin of a Marten, 24d. Skin of a Spattle-tail, (beaver) 120d. Skin of an Ermine, its value is 12d.

The value of the Beaver skin is very high, been exactly of the same value as a horse."

bly defined, and the surrounding soil is replete with myriads of sea shells[1], silent records of that long gone period when Father Thames surged his brackish waters up the worn gulph.

In the immense primeval forest, (now sadly shrunk in magnitude,) which descended on the western side, to the water's edge—amid the dense coverts of this appropriate region, the ferocious boar and savage wolf chased their natural prey, the timid deer and the wild ox[2]. In later ages, a portion of this forest, under the

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[1] Specimens may be seen in the collections of E. Colyer, esq., and Mr. Sylvester.

[2] *The Triads* describe Britain as having been "uninhabited by men, till the arrival of Hu, the mighty leader of the Cymri, from the country of Summer. They found wolves, bears, *beavers*, and oxen, with the high prominence." The latter description applies to bisons or buffaloes. *Accompanying a print of Hu Gadarn, landing in Britain, from a Coracle:—*

Hu the Mighty, on account of his attributes, was called the pillar of the nation:—first, for leading the Cymry into the Isle of Britain, from the Summer country or Defrobani; and those who came with him were styled the Social tribe, because Hu would not obtain a country through fighting and molestation: He was the stemming energy against oppression, because he thus led his nation to possess land through peace and tranquillity: Hu was the dispenser of gifts, because he first shewed the way to plough land to the nation of the Cymry in Defrobani: He was styled the primary artificer, for first bringing them into a compact and moveable society: and he was the cultivator of song, for being the first who made vocal song the means of preserving memorials and the works of imagination.

ROUND THE PRINT, IN ANCIENT BARDIC LETTERS, ARE THE WORDS:—
"Hu Gadarn yn arwain y Cymry i Ynys Prydain:"
That is,—"Hu the Mighty, leading the Cymry to the Isle of Britain."

With respect to the name of Britain, it may not be amiss to attend to what the Historical Triads contain, which is to this purpose:—

"The three names that were imposed on the Isle of Britain, from the beginning; before it was inhabited, the name of *Clas Merain*, (or water

name of SWANSCOMBE WOOD[3], has formed the theme of many a poet's lay, and reaped an undying celebrity.

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defended green spot); after it was inhabited it was called *Y vèl Ynys*, (or the Honey Island); and after it was brought under one general government by *Prydain son of Aed*, it was called the *Ynys Prydain* (or the Isle of Prydain): and no people has an original right in it but the nation of the *Cymry*, for they took possession of it first; and before that time there were no Inhabitants, but it was full of bears, wolves, avancs, and moose deer."

Observation:—"The Britons always called the Island *Ynys Prydain*, which unquestionably is the origin of the name of Britain among strangers; and to shew the identity still clearer, it may not be amiss to mention, that the British letter P, is liable to several modifications of sound, one of which is into the sound of B, for example, *Ynys Prydain*, the isle of Britain; *i Brydain*, to Britain; *in Mhrydain*, in Britain; *Frainc a Frydain*, France and Britain. The Greeks sometimes called it Britannia, and sometimes Pretania. In some old writings Britain is also called YR YNYS WEN, or Y WEN YNYS, *the White Island*; and hence it was called ALBION, by the Greeks; or vice versa."

[3] Dr. Harris says, "But that which hath rendred *Swanscombe* more famous than all these Things, is the famous Legend of *Thomas Spot*, a Monk of St. *Austin's* in *Canterbury*; which in *Selden's* Translation from the *Latin* of *Lambard* in Explication: *Verborum* stands thus: 'When the *Norman* Conqueror had the Day, he came to *Dover castle*, that he might, with the same Ease, subdue *Kent* also: Wherefore *Stigand* Archbishop, and *Egelsine* Abbot, as the Chief of that Shire, observing, that now whereas heretofore no Villains had been in *England*, they should be now all in bondage to the *Normans*; they assembled all the County, and shewed the imminent danger, the Insolence of the *Normans*, and the hard Condition of Villainage: They, resolving all rather to die than lose their Freedom, purpose to encounter with the Duke for their Countrey's Liberties. Their Captains are the Archbishop and the Abbot. Upon a Day appointed they met all here at *Swanscombe*, and harbouring themselves in the Woods, with Boughs in every Man's Hand they encompass his Way. The next Day the Duke coming by *Swanscombe*, seemed to see with Amazement, a Wood approaching towards him: The *Kentish* Men at the Sound of the Trumpet, take themselves to Arms; when presently the Archbishop and Abbot were

sent to the Duke, and saluted him with these Words:—'Behold, Sir Duke, the Kentish Men come to meet you, willing to receive you as their Liege Lord, upon that Condition, that they may for ever, enjoy their ancient Liberties and Laws used among their ancestors: Otherwise, presently offering War; being ready rather to dye than undergo a Yoke of Bondage, and lose their antient Laws.' The *Norman* in this narrow Pinch, not so *willingly* as *wisely*, granted their Desire; and Hostages being given on both Sides, the Kentish Men direct the *Normans* to *Rochester*, and deliver them the County and the Castle of *Dover*." *Hist. Kent*, i, 308. Darell writes:—Cujus adventum cum multi nuncii et fama denique ipsa suâ celeritate superâsset, habito et suorum consilio, et militum delectu, Stigandum archiepiscopum et Ashburnehamum regulum, quem Dovariensi castro præfecerant, et Everardum et Egelsinum Augustinensis monasterii abbatem, universæ rei duces constituunt. Qui demandatum sibi à suis negotium magnâ animorum alacritate suscipientes, postquam magnum exercitum, quibuscunque ex Cantianis gentibus potuissent, comparâssent, eum in campo Suano, qui in eorum finibus est, circumveniunt, ab eisque nunquam abeundi impetravisset potestatem, nisi et eorum postulatis subscripsisset, et juramento confirmâsset, eam conspirationem nemini unquam crimini futurum, et, obsidibus datis, eorum tranquillitati cavisset. *Hist. Dover Castle*, 18.

"The Sons of *Kent* alone the Tyde withstood;
Of Right tenacious; singular in good;
Unshaken, tho' the only unsubdu'd.
In Arms collected all agree,
To Live and Die, like their Great Fathers, free.
Grasp'd with one Hand the threatning steel they sway'd:
The other, Verdant Boughs display'd.
In dire Array, thus dreadful from afar,
Invasion's living Bar,
On the Brow of the threaten'd Land,
The moving Forest made a dreadful stand.
The Warrior King, mov'd at the doubtful sight,
So equal both for Friendship, or for fight,
A parley sounds; pleas'd ev'n in Foes, to see
Spirits so worthy to be free.
They come, they answer'd, negligent of life,
By Friendly Peace, or gen'rous strife,
To claim their dearer Liberty, and Right.
Undaunted Race, the Hero cry'd,
Such Virtue cannot be deny'd.
Take more from me than Foes can claim,
My Friendship; nay, my Conqu'ror's Name.
Thus to your Rights, and Valour true,
'Tis more, like you, to dare, than Kingdoms to subdue." Morgan.

"The general and usual Tradition is, that the many Privileges and Advantages of *Gavelkind* came to *Kent*, by the gallant Stand which our Countrymen made against *William* the *Conqueror* at *Swanscombe*; when *Stigand*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Egelsene*, Abbot of St. *Austins*, are supposed to have terrified that Prince into a Grant of their Ancient Laws and Liberties:" This is thus celebrated by Hawke, in his Poem on the Law:—

"Custom in KENT encouraging the Brave,
Distinguish'd well the Brother from the Slave;
And to each Son an equal Fortune gave.
With just regard,—since the same amorous fire,
Cans'd the last Birth, that did the first inspire.
The gen'rous Youth, pleas'd with such equal laws,
Fought for their Honour, and their Country's cause,
With such resistance, that the FRENCH Brigade
Which conquer'd HAROLD, durst not KENT invade;
But solemn peace with oaken squadron made;
Granted those Laws for which the Patriots strove,
And kiss'd the Gospel to the moving grove."

Swanescombe Church" too, says Weever, "in times past was much haunted by a mad company of Pilgrims, who came hither for Saint Hildeferths helpe (a Bishop by coniecture of his picture, yet standing in the vpper window of the South Isle) to whom such as were distracted ranne for restitution of their wits." *Fun. Mon.* 332.

"Roman catholic legends, state this as a fact,
That the holy Saint Helderfeth lunacy checked,
In those who had faith and bowed down at his shrine;
The pilgrims who brought the most grist to his mill,
The best antidotes had, their disorder to kill,
As it fed him with burgundy, capon, and chine" HOLBERT.

Swanscombe Church is dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul. Waller says, it is built of an heterogeneous mixture of materials, chalk rag, masses of stone of various kinds, and an admixture of Roman tile. The tower shows some attempt at a regular plan in the disposition of its materials; it is for the most part constructed of small stones laid in courses of three and four alternately with one of flint; this disposition is by no means regularly observed, sometimes there are two courses of flint, and sometimes but two of stone. There is something in this arrangement like an imitation of the Roman manner, flint being used in the place of tile. The quoining presents some curious features, and has evidently been controlled by the nature of the materials at hand; it exhibits a strange variety of stone, some disposed in long and short masses, some alternately with

Roman tiles, and the latter are found worked into the rubble, here and there, without any order. It may also be well to observe, that a large circular window of Roman tile, on the south side, is now blocked up. The chancel is chiefly flint-work set in herringbone, and covered with the durable rough-cast before noticed: the south side, where much of this is removed, shows very evident indications of the walls having been formed by planking the sides, until the mortar or concrete had firmly set; the mark of the planks are still very visible. This part of the church has undergone many alterations; an addition to the east end is easily to be distinguished, from its patched appearance; lancet lights of the twelfth century have superseded windows of a much earlier date, traces of which still remain; and a doorway on the north side appears to have been blocked up at the same time as the addition was made to the east end, but its architectural features are quite destroyed.

CHAP. III.

THE ABORIGINES.

"And they (the Noachidæ) said, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, *lest* we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower which the children of men builded. And the Lord said, Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. So the Lord *scattered them abroad* from thence upon the face of all the earth. GEN. IX. 4, 5, 7, 8.

Hark, what strange noise from Babel's walls proceeds,
Like the hoarse wind that rattles through the reeds!
From stammering mouths discordant voices sound,
And tongues unknown the baffled sense confound.

Sir Alex. Croke's Orig. Idolatry.

THE purification of the earth by the Deluge occurred B.C. 2251-2, or A.M. 1656-7, and shortly afterwards, the territorial possessions of the three surviving representatives were defined. But the dispersion of the Noachidæ did not take place till the days of Peleg,[4] who was born, A.M., 1758, or B.C. 2250. Then, a combination of self-willed mortals to construct a tower, "whose top should reach

[4] In the days of Joktan, the fourth in descent from Shem, the brother of Peleg; "the whole earth was divided," that is, the general dispersion took place, consequent upon the Confusion of Tongues. Previously to this dispersion at Babel, it is clear, that there were partial emigrations from the primitive post-diluvian habitations—One of these was headed by Cush, the son of Ham, who with his two sons and five grandsons, according to uniform tradition, and the presumptive evidences that are afforded by general history, colonized the head of the Persian Gulph. *Qtly. Rev.* "Whereas" says Theophilus Antiochenus "in old time there were

unto heaven," caused "the LORD to scatter the children of men abroad upon the face of the earth, A.M. 1934, or 2074, to the territories specifically predestined for their occupation, after confounding their speech phonetically in the vowels. The project of building such an enormous pile, demonstrates most decisively that even the antediluvians were the possessers of architectural attainments of no common order.

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but few men in Arabia and Chaldea, after the division of tongues they more and more increased. Hereupon some took their way towards the East, others to other parts of the great and wide continent; others travelling towards the North, seeking a place where to settle, still kept onwards, taking possession of what they chose, until at last they came to Britain, and seated in the Northern climates." *Apud Camden.* A writer in the *Gents. Magazine*, Feb. 1846 gives as a German hypotheeis the following statement:—that the antediluvians preserved written records of their history there can be no doubt, and that Moses formed his account of the events told therein from what still remained in the archives of the Noahetic race, the Shummites, whose direct descendant Abraham was, is directly proved in the story of the Creation. Moses evidently made it from two different records. In the lapse of years, and the confusion consequent on the removal to Egypt, and in the difficulties of the enslaved condition of the family in Goshen, these records had probably suffered much, and from their remains Moses collected all he could, and not wishing to omit anything, or to shock the feelings of those who had so long been accustomed to hear these histories read, he put down both versions; for in the account of the creation of man, it says in the 27th verse of the 1st Genesis "male and female created he them" while in the 18th verse of 2nd chapter, it says "it is not good for man to be alone" and in the 21st and 22nd verses gives the creation of woman. These discrepancies are evidently from following, or rather preserving, the written fragments as he received them. *Gents. Mag.*, xxv. 137. A friend commenting upon the theory, observes in a note to us, that "Moses the inspired and faithful servant of God, was directed by the Divine Being to com-

Every domestic tie to the soil being abruptly severed by the miraculous confusion of tongues; we can readily

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mence his narrative. For, it is not irrevalent here to remark, that the earlier part of the Book of Genesis consists of *several distinct compositions*, marked by difference of style, and by express formularies of commencement.* It is entirely consonant with the idea of inspiration, and established by the whole tenor of scriptural compositions, that the heavenly influence operated in concurrence with the rational faculties of inspired men; so that the prophets and apostles wrote from their *own knowledge and memory, the testimony of other persons and written documents*, to which indeed express appeal is often made.† From the evidence of language and matter, we have no slight reasons for supposing that Moses compiled the chief parts of the Book of Genesis, by arranging and connecting antient memorials, under the divine direction, and probably during the middle part of his life, which he spent in the retirement of Arabia. Thus, it is far from improbable that we have in this most antient writing in the world, the family archives of Amram and his ancestors, comprising the history of Joseph, written in great part by himself; documents from the hands of Jacob, Abraham, Shem, Noah, and possibly ascending still higher, authentic memorials from Enoch, Seth and Adam. The Book must have been composed in one of three ways,—first, by immediate revelation of every circumstance from God; secondly, by a collection of antient traditions; or thirdly, from former documents. The first supposition is generally abandoned. The *second, which is a common opinion* amongst theologians in this country, would not injure the credibility of the book; since Lamech the father of Noah, was contemporary with Adam, Shem the son of Noah lived in the time of Abraham, his son Isaac was contemporary with Japheth, &c. *The third* opinion is the one *generally received* by the German

*The following appear to be distinct compilations—I, Gen. i, 1 to ii, 3.—II. ii, 4, to iii, 24.—III, Chap. iv,—IV. v. 1, to vi, 8.—V. vi, 9, to ix, 28.—VI, Chap. x.—VII. xi 1, 9.—VIII. xi, 10, to 26—IX. xi, 27, and what follows may be regarded as the house of Abraham;—Chap. 36 a separate document, inserted in the most suitable place.

†We have these instances in the Old Testament,—Numb. xxi, 14.—Josh. x, 13.—2 Sam. i. 18—1 Kings xi, 41.—1 Chron. ix, 1,—xxix, 29—2 Chron. ix, 29—xii, 15,—xx, 34. In the New Testament many of the anecdotal portions in the first three Gospels; and see Luke i, 1, 2.

conceive that many of the dwellers upon the Plains of Shinar, conceived the plan seeking their fortunes on the seas and finding a home in remote lands wherein never had mankind dwelt. Not only were the details of the construction of the Ark fresh in the minds of many then living, but that memorial of the triumphs of naval architecture itself remained in existence—enabling vessels to be built after its model. Britain it is supposed was discovered in one of the exploring expeditions, which left the shores of the East at this epoch; but it was not till about sixteen or seventeen centuries before the Christian Era, that it was colonized. About that period an enterprising band, roaming up the Thames, in quest either of prey, or a convenient site for permanent residence; probably sailed up the wide and noble estuary formed by the river Ebbsfleet,[6] near

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theologians of the present day, and was maintained by many former writers. See *Carpzoo, Introd.* i, 57. *Vitringa, Obser. Sac.* i, 1. *Dissert.* i, 4. *Le Clerc. Proleg. Dis.* iii, 30. *Calmet, Com. Lit.* I, i, 13. Astrue believed that this book of Moses was composed from twelve such documents.

Perhaps the best view may be, to hold, that there *must have been* these small annals, pedigrees and lessons, among the early patriarchs; and Moses had these before him, and wrote them out, and worked them up into his book of Genesis:—In doing which, he had Divine assistance, for "Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." Compare with this, how we are referred, at 2 Sam. I., to the Elegy of David over Saul, being also "written in the book of Jasher."

[6] See also p. 50. That the Celtæ or κελτοι were synonimous with the Cymmerians is clear from Appian in Illyr. p. 1196, and de Bell. Civ. lib. i. 625. Diodorus Sic. lib. v. 309, also affirms the same. Herodotus says, the Celts dwelt in the most western parts beyond the Pillars of Hercules. *Herod. Melpom.* c. 49. *Mc'Pherson* affirms, that the name of Celtæ is an adjective derived from Gaël. *Whitaker* in his *Refutation of Mc'Pherson* asserts it is not an adjective derived from Gael but equally a substantive and actual-

Gravesend. In accordance with their usual practice of nightly seeking a shelter upon land,[7] these adventurous Celtæ disembarked and encamped upon the western heights. Pleased with the admirable position of the site—the pure spring which freely welled forth—combined with the promise of other requisites their simple wants demanded—they adapted the spot for a permanent location; and excavating the sandy soil, formed for themselves dwellings. Once fixed, they rapidly multiplied, and their progeny spread into the neighbouring districts, where Nature reigned in dreary and undisturbed solitude.

The rigour of the northern climes, in which the lot of some tribes was cast, entailed the necessity of abodes, which should effectually be a protection from the severity of cold. Calling to our service analogical instances, aided by collateral evidence, and the examinations we have made, we feel convinced, that natural caves in the earth, from their warmth, were primarily adapted to this use, and when these became insufficient, artificial excavations were dug with rude flint instruments.

In the primitive stages of barbaric life, similar habitations appear to have been generally adopted. The first settlers in Egypt were a colony of Ethiopians and

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ly the same word with it." p. 19. The C should be pronounced hard, it is then more consonant with the Greek orthography, and more truly expresses the proper pronunciation. The Romans called Cæsar Kæsar. *Gibson's Camden. fol.* 187. *This subject is treated more fully in pages* 49 *and* 50.

[7] The authors of the Pictorial History of England, although they have laboured hard to deny the antiquity of the first settlement of Britain, are however finally compelled to admit much against their

were Troglodytæ, or inhabitants of caves, pits or grottoes.[8] The Horites who dwelt in Mount Seir, were Troglodytæ, as the word חרים imports. Strabo describes Troglodytæ dwelling on each side of the Arabian Gulph. In the Koran,[9] a tribe of Arabians is mentioned, (the tribe of Thamud,) "who hewed houses out of the mountains, to secure themselves." In the Bible, are many allusions to subterraneous residences, thus:—"Because of the Midianites, the children of Israel made them the dens which are in the mountains and caves, and strongholds." *Judges*, vi, 2. In these secure resorts they sought refuge in periods of distress; "When the men of Israel saw they were in a strait, then the people did hide themselves in caves, and in pits,"[0] &c. That the residences of the aborigines in this island were subterraneous,[1] we have repeated corroborative

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inclination, "that the first migration from the one [Gaul ?] to the other [Britain], took place at a very early period, most probably *considerably more* than a thousand years before the commencement of our era."

[8] *Alberti*, fol. l. a. [9] The Koran, ch. xv and xvi.

[0] 1 Sam. xiii, 6., and Heb. xi, 37—8. Vide also Jer. xl, 9.

[1] "On Friday morning, Nov. 21, 1845, the surface of the ground in '*The Paddock*' at Orpington, Kent, suddenly gave way and developed, at the depth of sixteen feet, subterraneous arched chambers. The soil is sand. 'The Paddock' is a plot of ground devoted for the gardens of the peasantry, and the subsidence happened in that portion occupied by Master Willoughby. There is little doubt but that these caverns were the residences of the aboriginal Britons," "The formation of these pits may be ascribed to a tribe of Celtæ who had previously voyaged up the river Cray in wicker coracles. It must be recollected, that then, the river, unconfined by artificial barries, had no limits, but what nature herself provided, and consequently overflowed the whole of the valley between the hills, rendering it one vast morass, from the Thames to the source of the Cray. The

proofs furnished us by the authors of the classic era: amongst whom, we may incidentally enumerate Ephorus,[2] Diodorus Siculus and Dion Cassius. The excavations in this county, consisted of three circular caverns, arranged equilaterally with a connecting passage about four feet high.[3]—The entrance with some times a chimney or vent, at extreme points.—The depth however varies—some we have examined at Stanhill and Stankey, (opposite parts of the great town belonging to Caswallon, which Cæsar stormed,) have been eight feet, twelve feet, fourteen feet and even twenty feet below the surface of the ground.[4] Charcoal, bones, stone celts (and

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water, although it covered so wide an expanse, was not deep, except where the current forced its way till it mingled with the rising and falling tides of 'Father Thames.' Its surface was covered with the green tops of myriads of aquatic plants and trees, willows, osiers, sallows and withies, amongst which the heron, the wild duck, the otter and the beaver dwelt undisturbed. On either side of the hills, even descending to the very verge of the valleys, extended dense forests, the magnitude of which can barely be conceived by the imagination of the modern inhabitants, in the depth of which roamed the wolf and wild boar." *The Times, Sussex Herald, Gravesend Journal, &c. pas.*

[2] Ephorus was a pupil of Isocrates, who desired him to write a history, which he composed from the return of the Heraclidæ into the Peloponnesus to the twentieth year of Philip of Macedon. It obtained him a brilliant reputation. His geography is often mentioned and criticised by Strabo. But he is extolled for his knowledge by Polybius, Diodorus, and Dionysius Halicarnassus. *Sharon Turner* i. 41.

[3] In the Maidstone Journal, March 1845, is an account of a discovery by Mr. A. J. Dunkin, of similar excavations on the heights immediately above Kit's Coty house, near Maidstone.

[4] Hasted describes many similar pits in the heaths, fields and woods, near Crayford. He says that some of them, are ten, some

in one instance a flint arrow-head) have been discovered

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fifteen, and others twenty fathoms deep. At the mouth, and thence downward, they are narrow, like the tunnel of a chimney, or passage of a well, but at the bottom they are large and of great compass, insomuch that some of them have several rooms or partitions, one within another, strongly vaulted and supported with pillars of chalk. *Hist. Kent. fol.* i. 211. In Gibson's Camden, there is a rude wood cut of some caverns near Tilbury, Essex, "spacious caverns in a chalky cliff, built very artificially of stone to the height of ten fathoms and somewhat straight at the top. A person who had been down to view them, gave me a description of them." The chambers in the caverns which Camden depicts, consist either of a large space, with semicircular recesses, or of two chambers, each with three semicircular recesses connected by a passage. The universality of the practice is shown in the caves which were discovered in Ireland, in 1829, which are described in the 'Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of London,' vol. xxiii. (Figs. 52, 53, and 54.) John Leland, who peregrinated England and Wales in the time of Henry VIII., and whose descriptions, whenever he enters into detail, are so curious that we sigh over his usual brevity, and wish that he were as prolix as the travellers of our own age—thus describes similar pits near Caernarvon: "there be a great number of pits made with hand large like a bowl at the head, and narrow in the bottom, overgrown in the swart with fine grass, and be scattered here and there about the quarters where the head of Kenner river is, that cometh by Caire Kenner. And some of these will receive a hundred men, some two hundred. They be in the Black Mountain." *Old England*, i. 22. The excavations at Pen Pits, near Bourton, in Somersetshire, appear to have been a town composed of these subterraneous dwellings. Of this curious relic of antiquity, Sir R. C. Hoare makes these observations:—"The extent of ground comprised within our plan, amounts to about seven hundred acres, of which, nearly half, have been brought into cultivation: but I have no doubt, but that the whole of this fine plain was originally excavated into pits. In my own time the southern declivity of the hill, and another large tract near it have been levelled, and a considerable allotment near Pen Lodge is now undergoing the same process. These excavations seem also to have extended along the eastern banks of the river

upon removing a few inches of the soil, at the bottom of the pits, which still remain as dry as when excavated. In these abodes,[5] large families of men, women and children were promiscuously huddled together, as even in the present century was the practice of certain savages in Southern Africa.

The situation of the location on the western heights comprised all the essentials requisite for early settlements—being on the brow of an eminence[5] in a copse of wood—near marshes formed by a creek of the Thames. These circumstances conjoined, necessarily engendered myriads of reptiles,[6] which, with the fruit.

Stour, as far as the farm house at Bonham, and from the appearance of the ground, on the other side, I have reason to think they were continued along the western banks of the said river.——These pits are in their form an inverted cone, and are very unequal in their dimensions. In some instances we see double pits, divided by a slight partition of earth; and the soil in which they are dug, is of so dry a nature, that no water has ever been known to stagnate in them." *Antient Wilts.* i, 35, 36.

[5] Ephorus says of the primeval tribes they abode in subterraneous habitations, which they called *argillas*, communicating by trenches. *Ap. Strabo. Geo.* lib. v. p. 375. Argel in Celtic signifies a covert, an enclosure or a place covered over. In the Afallenau of Merddhin we find

a dyf yn *argel* yn argoedydd,
will come in the *covert* in the lofty woods.
1. *W. Arch.* p. 152.

The word is again used in the Englynion Beddaw of Taliessin;

Bet Llia Gwitel in *argel* ardudwy
dan y guellt ac guevel.

The grave of Llia the Gwyddelian in the *covert* of Ardudwy, under the grass and withered leaves. 1 *Arch.* p. 80.

[6] Mr. Saull, speaking of early settlers selecting such sites, observes—"the reason for their preference I conceive to be found in the abundant supply of reptiles and such like animals, consisting

the earth spontaneously produced,[7] formed the principal food of the primitive inhabitants, ere they arrived at the epoch, when they merged the hunter into the nomadic phase. For nations like individuals, advance insensibly from infancy to youth; and history has invariably demonstrated, that the greatest nations, like the noblest rivers, date their rise in obscurity. These pioneers[8] in the Cantian wilds, were of peaceful pursuits—war[9] formed no portion of

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of snakes, frogs, mice, and a variety of other small game." We do not altogether coincide in this herpetologic hypothesis, although it is an extremely ingenious theory. *Notitia Britanniæ.*

[7] The Mosaic record testifies, that "God said, Behold I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be given for meat." The earliest profane writers frequently allude to the innocence and happiness of man in that primeval period, when he only consumed the spontaneous productions of the soil. A late author in proof of a theory, that the "longevity of a frugivorous people is most amazing," has given for authorities Manetho, who wrote the Egyptian history; Berossus who collected the Chaldean monuments; Mochus, Hestiæus, Hieronymus the Egyptian, and those who composed the Phœnician History; also Hecatæus, Hellanicus, Ephorus, Nicolaus, Diodorus Siculus, Herodotus, Strabo and Jerome of Egypt. Ovid says

> "Void of care and crime
> The soft creation slept away their time:
> The teeming earth yet guiltless of the plough,
> And unprovoked, did fruitful stores allow.
> Content with food which nature freely bred,
> On wildings and on *strawberries* they fed;
> Cornels and bramble-berries gave the rest,
> And falling acorns furnished out a feast."

[8] Sharon Turner says that this "class of mankind was composed of distinct families, that multiplied into separate tribes, living insulated from each other; and rarely coalescing into nations; though sometimes confederating for the purposes of war and depredation."

[9] Dio Nicæus out of Xiphilin's Epit. concerning those Britons who dwelt in the interior, says, they till no ground, but live upon prey

their pleasures—and in after days, when their descendants became the proprietors of flocks and herds, the perpetual verdure presented in the valley, gave its inhabitants but little cause to range in search of fresh pastures—as these flocks multiplied, their produce combined with the results of the chase, formed the chief subsistence of the people. We are however anticipating the course of events—for, before this material change occurred, ages had rolled away.

The country around, to this day, presents marks of the dwellings of the aborigines; and one of the excavations at the verge of Stone-Park Wood, still bears the evidently Celtic appellation of "Caerberlarber's" Hole.

Tradition has brought the name to us, as CAERBERLARBER,[1] or CLABLABBER.[2] Even the pronunciation

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and hunting, and the fruit of trees. Their weapons are a shield and short spear, in the lower end whereof is a piece of brass like an apple, that by shaking it, they may terrify the enemy. This short spear was the bronze celt, so many of which, have been found in this county, and which invariably were cast with a loop for fastening the instrument. *Vide p.* 17 *ante.* Probably the shape of *the celt* may have varied, being one time like a *bill-hook*, or *tomahawk*, or again like a *bowie knife* or μαχαιρα: it was *a short slaughtering tool*, a *celt*, or *culter*, which at GEN. xxii, 6, is called *ma-celt*.

[1] For this orthography we are indebted to W. Crafter, esq.

[2] "A Traveller" in 1803, writes, In the bosom of Swanscombe wood, part of which is said to be in Southfleet parish, is a wonderful cavern, divided into detached cells, or apartments, excavated from a hill facing the south, at the bottom of which you enter it. This is probably of very remote antiquity. The woodmen tell you that once in thirty years or thereabouts, the rage to see it rises in the minds of the neighbouring villagers; and they make parties to go and regale there, taking lights that they may find their way out.

palpably demonstrates the Celtic origin of the nomenclature. All names of places being to a certain extent arbitrary, we can but trace the meaning of the separate syllables, after their conversion into a discriminative or descriptive appellation, for mnemonical convenience by the settlers. The first syllable is evidently from *clo*,[3] locked or shut in; which, again, is a compound of *cau*, an enclosure. *Llai*, is less, from *le-is* or *es*, the lower place. *Ber*, the final par-

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Our guide had not been down there for thirty years, but he says he then saw names and dates thirty years back. Our "Traveller" gives a very far-fetched version of the origin of the name, as follows:—"The last owner was a terrific kidnapper or freebooter, who may have lived probably many hundred years ago, and whose name seems to originate, like many other proper names of old, from his possessions, *caer l'arbre* the dwelling or habitation in the wood or trees, and now by colloquial shortening become *clabber*, to which they add his profession *napper*; and *Clabber Napper's* hole has been the terror of the rising generations, possibly ever since the time of our great Alfred." "There was formerly known, as I am well informed, a similar cave in the extremity of the chalk cliffs near to where Gravesend is now built, and subject to the same marauder. They go so far as to say, that there was an underground intercourse between them (four miles!); but unless we were assured that Clabber Napper *was a monk*, I would not believe it." (Rather illiberal.) "The present appearance of this cave is, that its entrance which was sloping downwards, has now a foss of ten or more feet deep; and over its principal cavity is a well-like hole, which the guide judiciously considered was a fall of the earth over the crown of the cavity. He said the people called it his chimney widened by the operations of time." *Gent's. Mag.* An account of an examination of the cavern in 1845, may be found in the *Chron. Kent.*

[3] Philologists may trace the word in different tongues,—thus: Latin *claudo* and *cludo*; French écluse, Italian *chiusa*, German *schleusse*, and Teutonic *schliessen*.

ticle *er*, water; to which, the letter *b*, signifying life, motion, &c., being prefixed, makes *ber*, spring-water. Thus hypothetically rendering for an explanation of the syllabic combination, what it certainly is geographically, *a town*, or *an enclosure near the spring water in the lower place.*—A different solution may perhaps be furnished from fewer elements, thus:—*caer*, a town. *b*, *er*, *l*, *arbhar*, a camp. The Celtic language being, says Rowland, "but a broken Hebrew,"[4] accordingly the word might thus be explained, קיר *ceer*, a citadel; באר *ber*, a well, or wells,; and 'L, or ל *el*, of; and ארבע *arba*, four: the first R being but a sound;

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[4] Upon this subject we have already recorded a deliberate opinion—vide *The Report of the Proceedings of the British Arch. Assoc. at the first Sess. holden at Canterbury in* 1844—as many of our readers may not have seen the volume, we take this opportunity of presenting the paragraphs to their notice.

Affinity to the Hebrew has been heretofore considered the test by which other Semetic languages might be ascertained; and yet, it is more than doubtful whether Hebrew be Semetic. What we call Hebrew is called throughout the Scriptures, the language of Canaan, and consequently of the descendants of Ham, and not of Shem. The evidence in the Bible does not rest alone on the mere calling this tongue the language of Canaan, although that is very strong. There is more convincing testimony. In the account of the covenant between Laban and Jacob (Gen. xxxi, 47,) the heap of stones made as a memorial of that agreement, shows that Laban spoke a different language from Jacob. Thus speaks Moses—"And Laban called it Jegar sahudutha, but Jacob called it Galeed." The first is Syriac, the second Hebrew.

Two men, not only of the same nation, but of the same family, each speaking the language of the people of the country among which they had been brought up—Laban, Syriac; Jacob, Canaanitish; both had lost the original Chaldee of their ancestor Terah. Yet the Hebrew has been considered the Holy language, which some even go so far as to call a tongue revealed to Moses—which it could not have been, for we find it spoken by Jacob long before the time of Moses—it is very plain that it was that of the cursed Canaanites. p. 40. *Betham, Orig. Idolatry.*

this makes CEER-BER-'L-ARBA, *the city of the four wells.* And we might compare *Gen.* xxiii, 1, "Kirjath-arba," the city [not of the giant Arba, but] of four sides, a quadrangle; like as Plutarch, and Ennius *apud* Solinus, tell us that the old name of Rome was "Quadrata" —the Welsh for *four* is *pedûar.*

North from this settlement, in the adjacent parish of Swanscombe, upon the land occupied by the Messrs. Hassell, "the surface of the ground has many times sunken down," and developed the subterraneous residences of the aborigines. In the summer[5] of 1845, "whilst ploughing this land with four horses, the crown of the arch of a cavern, till then unknown, gave way beneath the feet of the cattle, when two of the animals sank to such a depth, that they were with much difficulty extricated."

The barrows, wherein, rest the mortuary deposits of the primeval possessors of the soil, are in the southern portion of the forest, which, at the period we are treating was of enormous extent—infested with wolves and other animals of the chase. Even at the present day, it is one of the largest in the county of Kent, although every year witnesses a decrease in its magnitude, from the policy pursued by landlords of disforesting their lands.

Some years after the settlement of the first colonists upon the western side of the bay, another tribe of wandering Celtæ, selected the opposite or eastern heights, now called Wingfield Bank, for their dwelling place. One excavation only, (partly filled up,)

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[5] *Vide West Kent Guardian and Maidstone Journal, pas.*

now remains, (1845,) for the cultivators of the land, considering these aboriginal residences as nuisances, have invariably endeavoured to destroy them ; and were it not that the tumuli are in woods retained in their normal condition, they, too, would have shared the same fate, and been levelled with the surrounding soil. Even the Romans respected not the vestiges of their predecessors, for they filled up many of the British excavations, and actually directed one of their vicinal ways over an aboriginal subterraneous habitation, beneath the Northfleet portion of the very road, the reparation of which, was the vexata questio, that caused so much litigation between Mr. Silvester, the present occupier of Springhead, and the Southfleet and Northfleet parishes in 1845.

Religion, &c.

Although the arts and sciences amongst these tribes had retrograded, yet there still remains sufficient conclusive evidence, satisfactorily to convince us, that they had preserved a traditional acquaintance of the worship of the One true God. It may reasonably be supposed, that each body of people or tribe, after separating from the parent stock, to seek an independent settlement, in empty and unknown regions, conveyed with it a portion of the faith of its fathers—a faith transmitted from Babel's walls.[5] Besides, analogous

[5] Ion or *Ιων* the son of Zuth, descended from Deucalion or Noah, Eusebius says, was the ringleader in the building of the tower of Babel, and the first introducer of idol worship, and sabianism, or adoration of the sun, moon and stars. This would identify Ion with Nimrod, who it has been supposed was the first man deified.

circumstances lead us to infer, that each of these tribes migrated under the command of young and enterprising supernumeraries of the military and sacerdotal castes;—who multiplying according to the course of Nature—threw off other colonists for other climes, who reflected the chief features, both religious and political, of the Noahetic root whence all had alike sprung.

The corrupted religious worship of the aborigines we are describing, is inferred from existing and chronological and analogous data, to have been the sun and serpent, or dragon.[6] The former was the most visible object in creation presented to their notice—and in the climes, whence they emigrated, had been adopted as the object

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Southey in his *Curse of Kehama*, says of "the Judgement Seat" in the Infernal regions or Padalon:—

A golden throne before them vacant stood;
Three human forms sustain'd its ponderous weight,
With lifted hands outspread, and shoulders bow'd
Bending beneath the load.
A fourth was wanting. They were of the hue
Of coals of fire; yet were they flesh and blood,
And living breath they drew;
And their red eye-balls rolled with ghastly stare,
As thus, for their misdeeds, they stood tormented there.

Kehama enquires for what misdeeds the three "who bear the Golden Throne," are thus "tormented there?" The first replies, because he was the first miser; and the second says:

I o'er my Brethren of Mankind the first
Usurping power, set up a throne sublime,
A King and Conqueror: therefore thus accurst.
For ever I in vain repent the crime.

THIRD STATUE.

I on the Children of Mankind the first,
In God's most holy name impos'd a tale
Of impious falsehood; therefore thus accurst,
For ever I in vain the crime bewail.

[6] "A Time was when the Universe was darkness and water, wherein certain Animals of frightful and compound forms were generated. There were Serpents and other Creatures with *the mixed shape of one another*, of which *pictures* are kept in the Temple of Belus, at Babylon." *Berossus.* "The name of the national God BEL, is supposed to signify nothing more than *Lord*, and was also sometimes appropriated to deified heroes. *(Kircher. Œdip. Ægypt.*

of adoration. In the Sanchoniathon the Origin of Idolatry is traced to the descendants of Cain, who began with the worship of the Sun. The serpent was allegorical of this luminary; and he is depicted biting his tail, and with his flexible body coiled[7] into a circle, in order to indicate the ordinary course of the sun. Under this guise it was an emblem of time and eternity.

The Sanchoniathon fully verifies the sacred writings —it shews, that in the earliest ages, one God was the sole object of adoration; and that the corruptions of idolatry,[8] arose from interested and avaricious individuals among the initiated and learned, making a mystery of everything for their own profit and advantage, by trafficking on the fears and hopes of mankind with "cunningly devised fables, sorceries, and abominations;" by which they passed off falsehood as truth, hid the divine light from the eyes of mankind, and

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1, 262.) It is more probably an abreviation of OB-EL *the Serpent God.* The Greeks, remarks Bryant, called him BELIAR, which is singularly interpreted by Hesychius, to signify *a dragon,* or *great serpent;* from which we may conclude the serpent was, *at least,* an emblem or symbol of BEL." *Deane on the Serpent,* 44. Vide also *Apoc. Hist. Bel and the Dragon.* In our own language still exists a relic of this Babylonish worship, the name of the most hideous reptile in this country is EFT, from the Greek word *οφις, a serpent,* derived from the Egyptian word *oph.* Ophite worship in Africa, is Obeah-worship.

[7] It is a curious fact that the early British Christians, (*i.e.* the christian church planted by St. Paul himself, in this county,) called their societies by the simple Celtic word Côr, a *circle* or *congregation.* —*Vide* also, p. 42 ante, *cau,* an enclosure.—The definition of the Deity by Hermes Trismegistus, "is" says Deane, "poetically sublime." *God is a circle whose centre is everywhere, and circumference nowhere.* [8] A. J. Dunkin's Rep. Brit. Arch. Assoc. 1844.

plunged them into the horrid mysteries of a demoniac idolatry. Thus speaks the Sanchoniathon :—

All these things the son of Thabion the first hierophant among the Phœnicians, allegorized and mixed up with the occurrences and accidents of nature and the world, and delivered to the priests and prophets the superintendents of the mysteries; and they, perceiving the rage for their allegories increase, delivered them to their successors and to foreigners, of whom one was Isiris, the inventor of these letters, the brother to Chna, who was called the first Phœnician.

Sir William Jones says, "that one great spring and fountain of all idolatry was, the veneration paid by men to the sun, or vast body of fire, which looks from his sole dominion like the God of this world;" "But,"[8] says Richard Watson "the scriptural account of the matter refers the whole to wilful ignorance and a corrupt heart: 'they did not like to retain God in their knowledge.'"

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[8] To this may be added, what indeed proceeds from the same sources, the disposition to convert religion into outward forms; the endeavour to render it more impressive upon the imagination through the senses; the substitution of sentiment for real religious principle; and the licence which this gave to inventions of men, which in process of time became complicated and monstrous. *Watson, Bibl. Theol. Dict.* Idolatry sprang from mistaking scripture: so also witchcraft and sorcery, which hold near affinity to idolatry, and seem to have had the first beginning from an imitation of God's oracles: "God spake in divers manners," HEB. i. By dreams, by Urim, by Prophets, I SAM. 28., 6, 7. When the Lord would by none of these answer, King Saul then sought a witch. In Holy Writ there are hosts of Idols mentioned, of whom little or nothing is spoken save their names. Of this nature are those chambers of Imagery, wherein all forms of creeping things were pourtrayed on the walls. EZEK. 8.

Degenerate man, in weakness and decay,
Left to himself became an easy prey,
As earth was peopled flagrant vice increased
And love for God's paternal blessings ceased
And wandering man on Nature's works bestowed
The worship to his God he justly owed. *Croke.*

CHAP. IV.

PHŒNICIAN COLONIES & COMMERCE.

"The breath of heaven has blown away
What toiling earth had pil'd
Scattering wise heart and crafty hand,
As breezes strew on ocean sand
The fabrics of a child." KEBLE.

About three centuries after the first colonization of Britain, by the descendants of the sons of Japheth[1] the island was visited by those enterprising navigators the Phœnicians;

"whose antiquity is of the earliest date:"

and who engrossed all the traffic carried on at that time in the world. The dwellers on the Kentish shores equally imbued with a love for the sea, gladly cultivated their connexion and sought their commerce: and the productions of Britain were exchanged for those of Tyre, to reciprocal advantage;[1] The great extent of coast possessed by the Britons, was favourable to their continuing the pursuit of a maritime life, long after their occupation of the Kentish shores.

[1] Richard of Cirencester affirms that it was about A. M. 3000, that Britain was first visited by the Phœnician merchants. *Lib.* 2, c. i. § VI.

Holy Writ furnishes us with a concise pedigree of the descendants of Noah, and the division of the earth amongst them. It states that Noah begat Japheth, who begat Javan, one of whose offspring, was Tarshish. Amongst this race, says the inspired chronologist, "were the *Isles of the Gentiles* divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations;"—and in ourselves, their descendants, we experience the fulfilment of the prophetical benediction of Noah "God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem."

Wherever the Phœnicians penetrated, there they planted colonies, and it has been feasibly supposed,[2] that the Gaël or Gauls, were drawn from the two Galilees, and Gaulonitis, the inland provinces, Gael, or Gaul, to the ports the Phœnicians selected for fixing their establishments, and called themselves Gael

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[2] TALIESEN in the antient poem, entituled—*The Appeasing of Lludd*, thus graphically describes the *first* colonists,

Llwyth lliaws, anuaws ei henwerys
Dygorescynan Prydain, prit fan ynys,
Gwyr gwlad yr Asia, a gwlad Gafis;
Pobl pwyllad enwir, eu tir ni wys,
Famen gorwyreis herwydd maris;
Amlaes ei pelsiau, pwy ei hefelwys?

A numerous race, fierce *they are said to have been*,
Were thy original colonists, Britain, first of Isles,
Natives of a country in Asia, and the country of Gafis;
Said to have been a skilful people, but the district is unknown,
Which was mother to these children, warlike [fearless] adventurers on the sea
Clad in their long dress, who could equal them?

The nations, the offspring of Japhet, possess from Mount Taurus to the North, all the middle part of Asia, and all Europe, as far as the British Ocean, and give their names both to the places, and to the people. *Origen, l.* ix. *c.* 2. We are aware of the attempt to prove from the etymology that the descendants of Gomer the eldest son of Japheth, first peopled the isles of Britain, and although we have been accused of too readily listening to tradition, yet

and Gaeltach, or Celtæ,[3] and thenceforward, the aborigines, whose descent was similar, were confounded

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in this instance, we do not coincide with the learned and ingenious theory. It is nevertheless a curious fact that the radical part of the names of Gomer should be found in the appellation of the Cimmerians in Asia; Cimbri and Umbri in Gaul and Italy; and Cymri, Cambri and Cumbri in Wales and Cumberland, at the present day. *Camden* deduces it thus: Gomer, Gomari, Gomeræi, Gomeritæ, Kumero, Cymro, Kumeri, and gives *Josephus* and *Zonaras* as authorities. Gomer in Hebrew Signifies *Bounding*, or the *utmost border*. Sir W. Betham says, "it has escaped all observation, as far as I have discovered, that the country about Tyre and Sidon, as far as Acre, antiently bore the name of *Galilee*, or *country of the Gael on the sea coast;* the very name, *Gael*, the Phœnician colonies in Europe called themselves, and gave to their settlement in Europe; Gael, *the Gael*—la, *country of*—li, *sea coast*.....The conclusion therefore appears irresistible, that the Gael were a Phœnician colony, who conquered and settled Celtic Europe, at such remote antiquity that when they were found by the Romans in Gaul, Britain and Ireland, they had forgotten all but a tradition of their original country, their gods, their religion, and their language." *Gael and Cymbri*, p. 84. Diodorus Siculus says γαλαται is only another appellative of the κελτοι. *Origen* calls the Gaulish Druid γαλατων δρυαδας Galli is probably but the abbreviation of Galatai, a clipping practice too often employed by the present generation in daily conversation, i. e. *omnibus* vulg. *bus; railroad* vulg. *rail; steamboat* vulg. *steam* or *boat*.

[3] The Irish, the Gael of Scotland and the Manks, are now the only descendants of that antient people who have retained the language. The discovery, by Sir Wm. Betham, that in the Irish a people still exist *who speak the language* of the Phœnicians, is of the first historical importance, for by it, Phœnician inscriptions may be decyphered, and the extent of their commerce and navigation, traced by the antient names of places in the world known to the antients. *Plautus* happily *establishes* the clear identity of the language of Hamilcar, of Carthage, itself a Phœnician colony, with the vulgar Irish of this day. Hanno the Carthaginian, in Plautus,

under the same cognomen. The Romans afterwards denominated the whole continent by the name of the people on the coast. The Hebrew for *Galilee* is GALIL ; and at *Isaiah* ix, 1, "*Galilee of the nations,*" seems to be an expression referring to the connexion which Galilee had maintained with distant climes—as if it were *the Mother of Colonies,* "Galilee of the nations!" or, as in *Matt.* iv, 15, "Galilee of the Gentiles."

The Greeks and Romans gave the general name of Celtæ to nearly all the interior natives and tribes who lived in the forests of Europe. It corresponds exactly to our name *Indians,* conferred on *all* the tribes of America. There were no people more Celt than any other, but it happened that some other name was often given for distinction. Celt was the genus ; Gael, Gaul, Cymri, &c., the species.

The terms "Western Isles" and the "Isles of the Gentiles" are used indiscriminately by sacred and profane writers, to express BRITAIN or TARSHISH. The etymology of the name of Tarshish is mnemonically significant of its position :—The particles of which it is composed, demonstrate, according to the explanation of Sir William Betham, the identity of the Gaelic and

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exclaims in Carthaginian—"*Byth lim ! mo thym noctothii nel ech anti dias machon.*" Which in *current Irish* would be written at this day—"*Beith liom ! mo thyme noctaithe niel ach anti daise maecoinne.*" In another sentence the Roman Plautus is accurate to a letter as in current Irish :—"*Han donc filli hanum bene filli in mustine.*" In like manner, Hanno's "*Meipsi et an eiste dam, et alaim na cestin um.*" Is in current Irish, "*Meisi et an eiste dam, et alaim na cestin um.*"

Phœnician languages—"It is TIR, *country*—TAR, *western*—SIOS, *down in*;—that is literally *the western country*, or *the country down in the west*, pronounced Tiarshish."

At the close of the fourth age of the world, about one thousand years before Christ, we read of the celebrity of the ships of Tarshish, for Solomon "the king had a navy of Tarshish"[4] always at sea, and it is further recorded, that their voyage to Tarshish and back, trading on the route, lasted three years.[5] Gold and silver are two of the articles of commerce mentioned, both of which the mines of Britain and Ireland produced.[6] The route pursued by the fleet appears to have been from Eziongeber on the Red Sea, and thence,

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[4] 1 *Kings*, x. 22. 2 *Chon.* ix. 21.

[5] About two hundred years afterwards, Pharaoh Necho king of Egypt, who reigned between the years 616 and 600 B.C., directed a similar voyage to be undertaken. (*Herod* IV., 42). The vessels sailed from the Red Sea, and returned by the Mediterranean, performing the voyage in *three years*; just the same time that the voyage under Solomon had taken up. It appears likewise from Pliny (Nat. Hist. ii. 67,) that the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, was known, and frequently practised before his time; by Hanno the Carthaginian, when Carthage was in its glory, by one Eudoxus, in the time of Ptolemy Lathyrus king of Egypt; and Cælius Antipater, an historian of good credit, somewhat earlier than Pliny, testifies, that he had seen a merchant who had made the voyage from Gades to Æthiopia. The Portuguese under Vasco de Gama, nearly three hundred years ago, recovered this navigation after it had been intermitted and lost for many centuries.

[6] Griffiths says that an ardent spirit for mining adventures must have pervaded Ireland at a very remote period, from the numerous traces existing of formerly worked mines. *Report to the Royal Dublin Soc. on the Metallurgic Mines of Leinster*, 1828.

round by Africa, whence they procured "the ivory, apes, and peacocks," likewise included amongst the items of commerce.

Tarshish agreeably to the peculiar allegorical practice of Hebrew poetry, is oftener instanced than any other place in the Holy Scriptures, metonymically to express wealth and commerce. Such was actually the case with Britain, it was a mart abounding with treasures—and its inhabitants enriched by trade possessed many of the luxuries and enjoyments of life; since commercial nations always arrive at wealth and luxury earlier than others. But unfortunately, with the exception of circumstantial evidence, no record or description has descended from antiquity, to convey to us a particular notion of their prior modes of life. From analogous instances we may however safely arrive at the conclusion, that the Phœnician colonists incontinently excited amongst the apt aborigines, a desire to participate in the novel luxuries they introduced. Attendant upon the use of "strange luxuries" came the civilizing customs of the East, which tended more to the advantage of the Phœnicians, than a retention of the natives in their pristine condition, because it created a demand for the merchandize and mineralogical treasures, in which they trafficked. Rich too, as was Britain in mines, yet without heavy and continuous labour, the ores were not available for commercial purposes.

In mining and metallic operations the processes are so varied and complicated, that the toil of an isolated individual would be of little avail—it was, therefore, of paramount importance that whole communities

should be imbued with a desire of gain, and moreover positively assured of receiving an equivalent for their exertions. Consequently it must have been the endeavour of the new colonists to excite amongst the aborigines those artificial wants, they alone could supply.—Thus, the productions, the knowledge, the refinements of Tyre, "the triumphant city," "the mighty fortress of the sea," with all the good and evil fruits of commerce were introduced into the Western Isles. An intimate political and commercial relation thenceforward existed between the two countries, and an interchange of manners and customs, which were partially retained even after the fall of Tyre, till the advent of the Romans—the most deceptive and imposing people that ever dwelt upon the earth. Even Cæsar, in his eloquent yet partial description of the Cantians, is compelled to admit, that in chariots, in agriculture, and strategetical skill, they were far superior to the Gauls, their nearest neighbours, who were at that time amalgamating with the Teutons;—reluctantly too, he states, that the Roman gallies were unable to contend with the mighty British ships. Being his "own reporter," of his own feats, he has invariably endeavoured to decry the Britons, and disparingly asserts his opinion, that they were barbarians—but when he descends to minute detail, the gloze becomes transparent, and the Kentish men are discerned to have filled a higher grade in the community of nations, than he wished to represent, lest he should too clearly exhibit the complete discomfiture and ruin of the armies he organized for their invasion.

The poet prophet Ezekiel says, in the Lamentation

for Tyrus, (one of the towns of Phœnicia,) which he was ordered to make by the Lord our God, in the fifth age of the world, "the ships of Tarshish did sing of thee (Tyre) in thy market; and thou wast replenished and made very glorious in the midst of the seas,"—again, "Tarshish was thy merchant, by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches; with silver, iron, tin and lead they traded in thy fairs."

Now as Britain alone possesses the whole of these metals, and "Tin is not to be found elsewhere in Europe,[7]" it is another convincing proof that Tarshish was the Western Isles or Britain, whose wave-bound coasts also supplied the hardy mariners who manned the fleets which swept the seas from Tarshish to Tyre.

The destruction of continental Tyre[8] took place between the years 607, B.C., during the period Nebuchadnezzar was associated with his father in the government of Assyria and Babylon and 569, B.C. when that emperor lost his reason. Nebuchadnezzar began his conquests in the first year of his reign. The ascertained dates of these occurrences, combined with other corroboratory links, materially assist us in ascertaining the correct epochs.

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[7] *Gael and Cymbri*, art. Tarshish, p. 39.

(8) "Thus saith the Lord Jehovah concerning Tyre:
At the sound of thy fall, at the cry of the wounded,
At the great slaughter in the midst of thee, shall not the Islands tremble?
And shall not all the princes of the sea descend from their thrones,
And lay aside their robes, and strip off their embroidered garments?
They shall clothe themselves with trembling, they shall sit on the ground;
They shall tremble every moment, they shall be astonished at thee.
And they shall utter a Lamentation over thee, and shall say unto thee:
How art thou lost, thou that wast inhabited from the seas!
The renowned city, that was strong in the sea, she and her inhabitants!
That struck with terror all her neighbours!
Now shall the coasts tremble in the day of thy fall,
And the isles that are in the sea shall be troubled at thy departure."
Louth's Ezekiel, xxvi, 15—18.

. In the late Bishop of London's literal translation of Isaiah's "Oracle concerning Tyre" the reference to Britain is more palpable than in the generally received versions :—

Howl, O ye ships of Tarshish
For she is utterly destroyed both within and without;
From the land of Chittim (9) the *tidings are brought unto them.*
Be silent, *O ye inhabitants of the sea coast;*
The merchants of Sidon, they that pass over the sea, crowded thee.
And the seed of the Nile, growing from abundant waters,
The harvest of the river was her revenue
And she became the mart of the nations.
Be thou ashamed, O Sidon! for the sea hath spoken,
Even the mighty fortress of the sea, saying:
I am, as if I had not travailed, nor brought forth children;
As if I had not nourished youths, nor educated virgins.
When the tidings shall reach Egypt
They shall be seized with anguish at the tidings of Tyre.
Pass ye over to Tarshish; howl, *O ye inhabitants of the sea coast!*
Is this your triumphant city; whose antiquity is of the earliest date
Her own feet bear her far away to sojourn.

We have, altogether, most authentic and indisputable testimony furnished us, by both inspired and profane writers, that the Phœnicians traded to Britain, many centuries before Cæsar, who mentions, as also do the prophets, precisely the same metals, as indigenous to the isle.[10]

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9 *Chittim* has been taken by Hales for all the coasts and islands of the Mediteranean; which appears most consonant with the general use of the word by the different inspired writers. *Watson's Bibl. Theol. Dict.* It can easily be accepted that the intelligence of the overthrow of Tyre, was revealed to the British by this mean. Bishop Louth in a note says "The news of the destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar is said to be brought to them from Chittim, the islands and coast of the Mediteranean: 'For the Tyrians,' says JEROM on ISAIAH xxiii, 6. 'when they saw they had no other means of escaping, fled in their ships and took refuge in Carthage,' 'in the islands of the Ionian and Egean sea,' from whence the news would spread and reach Tarshish."

10 The name of Midacritus, has descended to our days as the first Phœnician voyager whose cargo comprised lead. *Pliny, Hist. Nat.* lib. iii. c. 57.

Under the fostering auspices of the Phœnicians, Tarshish or Britain reached a high position in the pale of civilized countries.—Her sons ceased to dwell in the subterraneous habitations they occupied on their arrival in the isle—replacing them by houses with stories, after the Tyrian manner, but constructed chiefly of wood and iron.

These erections were first raised in the towns adjacent the ports frequented by the Phœnicians, such as those on the heights near the mouths of the Medway, the Ebbs or Ebbsfleet, the Darent, nay, along the coast of the south-eastern extremity of the island. The fashion and convenience of the novel residences pleased the aborigines, and their use became general. Thenceforth the majority of the excavations in the earth were converted into repositories for corn and provisions during winter.

That portion of Political Economy called "the division of labour" was fully understood and practised by the Britons, for no one can credit that the same labourer who delved in mines and smelted ore;—or he who cast or chiselled the pure metal into forms of elegance or usefulness—cultivated at the same time sufficient soil for the sustenance of himself and family. No.—Agriculture and commerce had their relative followers—and wherever the site of natural source of wealth, there sprang up a town, whence radiated good roads by which the hands employed in manufacturing or metallurgic operations received provisions from the husbandman.

It is evident that the Britons possessed a thorough knowledge of mechanical power and its application,

from the stupendous monuments, which, after exposure to the fury of the elements for upwards of two thousand years, would have remained even now almost unscathed by the touch of stern old Time, had not man iconoclastically lent his assistance to their demolition.

The introduction of carts, waggons and carriages, either for trade or pleasure, occurred during this epoch, although we advisedly place their adaptation to military purposes much later. As a fondness for frippery or magnificent costume was innate in the breasts of the people, all, who had the means, profusely adorned themselves with glittering ornaments, such as gold or silver armlets, chains and torques. Their dress in summer, consisted of close fitting tunics, either of gaily coloured cloth, or tinctured with the far-famed Tyrian purple. In winter, the garb was composed of wool, interwoven with threads of gold. To farther decorate their persons, they used furs, dressed skins, and the plumage of birds, even as they are worn at the present day.

Upon the destruction of Tyre, it would appear that the maritime power of the inhabitants of Tarshish decayed for a time, that the prophecy of Ezekiel might be fulfilled :—"and the isles that are in the seas shall be troubled at thy departure," until it was resuscitated after the invasion of the Belgæ.

Hanno, the Carthaginian, in his famous expedition which comprised a fleet of threescore sail, and thirty thousand men, visited the Kentish shores rather more than four centuries before the Christian era. After establishing communication and planting several colonies in various parts of the island for commercial

ends, he sailed to CERNE, or CHERNAA.[1] We know not whether his mariners mutinied and refused (like those of Columbus), to penetrate farther into unknown seas, but it is evident, from the name, that 'Cerne' was the termination of his voyage. The almost invariable practice of antient and modern travellers has been to affix some arbitrary appellation to the countries they discovered explanatory of the circumstances attendant on the event. Agreeably therefore to analogical instances, "Cerne" etymologically rendered, expresses *the last dwelling place*, evidently furnishing the root of the word ERNE or IERNE, as Ireland was called by Strabo. After this visit, the Carthaginians continued to traffick with the British isles,—the geographical position of which, they endeavoured to keep unknown, in order to

[1] Dionysius in his geography, mentions the two Islands of Britain one towards the east, called Albion ; that towards the west, Jerne [Ierne]. Ptolemy also says the same. Apuleius in his book De Mundo, on the authority, as he says of Aristotle and Theophroastus. speaks of two British Isles, Albion and Ierne. Eratosthenes, librarian to Ptolemy Philadelphus, two hundred and fifty years before the christian era, states the distance of Ireland from Celtica or Gaul. Polybius, Ptolemy, and others, speak of the Islands of Britain, as the largest in the world ; viz : Albion and Ibernia. Strabo speaks of Ireland as scarcely habitable from its coldness. Claudius, styles it Glacialis Ierne, [Icy Ireland]. Julius Cæsar describes Ireland as lying to the west of Great Britain ; and Catullus calls Britain (i. e. Ireland), the remote Island. Diodorus Siculus, co-temporary with Cæsar, calls the inhabitants of Irin, Britones, as being of the same Celtic origin with the Britons ; Plutarch speaks in the same manner. In short says Sir Wm. Betham, all the antient authorities agree in considering Ireland, one of the British Islands colonized by Celtæ. We must therefore conclude, that, as the antients always included Ireland amongst the British Islands, whatever they said respecting these Islands, generally, must apply to Ireland as well as Britain.

monopolize a commerce so profitable. With this intention, they attempted to veil the isles in mystery, and by giving them in conjunction with the Scilly islands, the novel name of "THE CASSITERRIDES,"[2] to confuse mariners.

Of the eagerness of other nations to ascertain the position of The Cassiterrides or Tin Islands, we have striking evidence from Strabo, who says, "the Romans made many efforts to discover these mysterious isles." He also records, that on one occasion, the master of a Carthaginian vessel while on his way to them, finding

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[2] *Κασσιτερον* is the word used by the Greeks for tin. *Bochart* has founded an ingenious etymology of the Britannic Isles on the Hebrew *Baratanac*, which, he says, means *Land of Tin*, upon Strabo calling Britain *Βρεττανικη*. *Boch. Canaan*, lib. i. c. 39. p. 720. He also casually intimates, what was probably the case, that the word *κασσιτερον* was of Phœnician origin. The Chaldean Targums of Jonathan and Jerusalem certainly call tin *kastira* and *kistara*, as the Arabs name it *kasdar*. *Vide Numbers* xxxi, 22. In a subsequent note, Turner says "on Bochart's derivation of *brettanike* from *barat tanac*, the Land of Tin,—it may be remarked, that these terms are rather conjectural as to the Hebrew : though *barat*, as he intimates signifies *a field* in Syriac, and is twice used in that sense in the Chaldee of Daniel. But I have since found the two component words actually existing in the Arabic tongue, and placed as such in the Arabic Lexicon; for there I find *bahrat* to mean a *country*, and *anuk* to signify *tin and lead*. So that in Arabic, *bahrat-anuk* literally express the *Country of Tin*, which is the meaning of the Greek Kassiterrides : and it is not more improbable that England should have been antiently called by its trading visitors, the Tin Country, than that Molucca and the adjacent isles should be termed by our navigators, the Spice Islands; or that a part of Africa should be entitled the Gold Coast ; and another part the Slave Coast ; seamen and merchants not unnaturally naming the distant land from the article for which they frequent it. *Ang. Sax. lib.* 1, iii. p. 57.

himself pursued by one whom the Romans had appointed to watch him, purposely ran his vessel aground. Thus sacrificing his cargo and perilling his life rather than betray a secret so important to the interests of his country.

In despite however of all their craft, Pytheas of Marseilles, a Greek navigator, about a century afterwards, penetrated into Britain. Dionysius Periegesis v. 568,[3] says "that the Greeks preferred the British Isles for trade to all others." Thenceforward, the Massilians and Burdigalians participated also in the profitable traffick and adopted the policy of their predecessors the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, in endeavouring to conceal their knowledge of the land whence the treasures were derived.

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[3] Britannicas insulas cœteres totius orbis Græci prætulere.

CHAP. V.

INVASION OF THE BELGÆ.

"So we in filling up a thoughtful hour,
Gather the fragments of antiquity;
The lost restore, illustrate the obscure,
Connect the body of fair history."

STUKELY.

THE "Historiographer"[1] Richard of Cirencester, who compiled his work from antient British chronicles[2] and manuscripts no longer in existence, assigns the date of 3650, A.M., for the invasion of Britain by the Belgæ. But these Belgæ were *not the posterity of Germans*, who, Cæsar says, "Not many ages before," emigrated to the south of the Rhine, on ac-

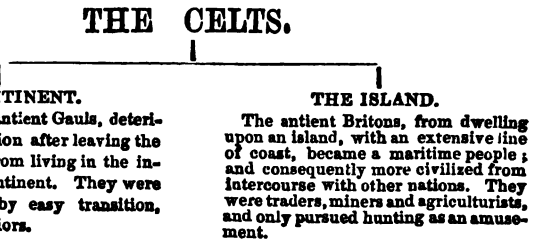
[1] Dr. Giles in his *Notice of the Life and Works of Richard of Cirencester*, prefixed to his reprint of *Mr. Hatcher's translation* of "the Description of Britain by Richard of Cirencester" says, that he was honoured with the name of THE HISTORIOGRAPHER, from his proficiency in the study of Anglo-Saxon history and antiquities.

[2] Nennius, who compiled, he himself says, his History of the Britons from "Traditions of our ancestors, and partly from writings and monuments of the antient inhabitants of Britain," observes, that the Thames and the Severn were the two arms of Britain, and bore the ships employed in the conveyance of the riches acquired by commerce. The Britons were once very populous; he alludes to the period before the Roman conquest, § 9. He also states that the Britons came to Britain in the third age of the world, and in the fourth, the Scots took possession of Ireland, § 15.

count of the fertility of the soil. Because the people to whom he thus alludes, represent the first appearance of the Gothic tribes in the western regions of Europe, and were invaders of the people, originally called Belgæ. For Cæsar says, "that Belgia was possessed by two sorts of people, the aborigines, and those who subsequently crossed the Rhine." It is thus evident, that it was the proper Belgæ who invaded Kent some three centuries prior to Cæsar's Cantian expeditions.

The pure Belgæ were the offspring of colonists, who originally crossed the Channel from Kent—whose habits, from local and other circumstances incidental to dwelling in the interior of a desolate continent, materially varied from those of the Britons, whose extensive sea coasts led them from the earliest period to cultivate commerce and intercourse with distant climes.

The following pedigree exhibits the descent of the Celtic tribes. It shews that the Gothic tribes, who were extending themselves over Belgia, had no claim to the name of Belgæ, but were so termed, just as the Saxons or English assume the name of Britons, although they superseded the proper Britons:—


THE CELTS.
THE CONTINENT.
The Belgæ, or antient Gauls, deteriorated in civilisation after leaving the Kentish shores, from living in the interior of a vast continent. They were hunters, which by easy transition, merged into warriors.
THE ISLAND.
The antient Britons, from dwelling upon an island, with an extensive line of coast, became a maritime people; and consequently more civilized from intercourse with other nations. They were traders, miners and agriculturists, and only pursued hunting as an amusement.

Although the aboriginal Belgæ, and the aboriginal Britons were scions of the same Celtic stock, yet the above table demonstrates that at very early periods their

manners entirely changed, through the difference of the soil, climate, and other circumstances, over which they had no control.[2]

A distinguishing trait of all the Celtic tribes was their restless disposition; in Britain, from its insular form, this feature exhibited itself under the peaceful guise of clearing new ground for cultivation, and the making new channels by naval expeditions, for communication with unknown climes. In Gaul or Belgia, the desolate plains and forests tempted the inhabitants who had spread into the interior, to pursue the exciting occupation of the chase, which, by easy transition, merged into plundering pursuits. Thenceforward the profession of arms was followed, and their sons were bred from infancy to depredation and violence.[3] To so great an extent did they maintain their valorous disposition, that they placed death itself in the number of their amusements.[4] But those Belgæ who had remained upon the coast, retained their maritime knowledge, and devoted their attention to marauding expeditions; often, for purposes of pillage, visiting the richer mother-country. The oft-repeated piratical incursions upon the Kentish shore being generally rewarded with heaps of plunder, finally tempted the Belgæ to extend their operations, and there make permanent settlements. In accordance with this policy, the Belgæ of the coast recruited their ranks with some of the war-

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[2] All the Belgæ are Allobroges or foreigners, and derived their origin from the Belgæ and Celts. *Rich. Cir.* c. vi. § 12.

[3] In bello latrociniisque nati.—*Cæsar*, lib. vi.

[4] Mortem pro joco habent.—*Athen.* lib. iv.

riors of the interior; and then, crossing over the narrow channel which divides Kent from the continent,—engaged and defeated the more peaceful Britons, and seizing some of their towns, reduced the natives to slavery.

The language of the Britons and the Belgæ being similar,[5] we have no hesitation in asserting that the majority of the quiet inhabitants speedily amalgamated with their conquerors, but a few, more high-spirited, finding themselves overruled by a class determined upon asserting their martial superiority, expatriated themselves, and departed across the seas to the colonies established in Ireland by Hanno the Carthaginian; where they were called SCOTTI, which rendered into our language, is probably equivalent to the modern Gaelic word, SCUIT or SCAIOT, *(a wanderer,)* corrupted afterwards into SCOT.

During this era, although the town on the banks of the river Ebbsfleet, in Northfleet parish, was one of the earliest seized by the Belgæ, yet its great ship-building advantages rendered these marauders most anxious to preserve it from destruction. In its docks, vessels were continued to be constructed for the conquerors, who maintained with the Belgic soil a constant communication. At first, the invaders treated the natives with harshness; which however, as time rolled its course, softened down, till it gradually disappeared, so that when Cæsar attacked the Veneti,[6]—the aborigines

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[5] Cæsar and Tacitus (*Vit. Ag.* c. ii.) both agree that the speech in Gaul and Britain was similar.

[6] After the Romans departed from Britain, many of the people emigrated to Armorica, in consequence of the inroads of the cruel Saxons, and the ravages of a pestilential fever; but after the esta-

and the various colonies of Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Belgians, who, during the lapse of fifteen centuries had assisted in rendering Britain a most densely populated island, were completely fused down, and amalgamated into one indivisible people, fixedly determined upon repelling the invading Romans. Their manners and customs, with only the variations incident to peculiar positions, had assimilated throughout the southern division of the island. Neither during the interval which elapsed, between the cursory description furnished of the Cantians in Cæsar's interpolated autobiographical Commentaries,[7] nor in the more detailed and elaborate

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blishment of the Anglo Saxon dynasty, they returned (A.D. 934,) upon the fierce invasion into Armorica, of the North-men (now becoming Normans), under Rollo.

[7] The Rev. H. Barry, in his able work of "Cæsar and the Britons" observes,—"The fictions of regal Rome have often been detected and exposed, while the events of her consular and imperial state are suffered to pass as undoubted history. But it has not been considered that the whole of the Roman history wants the check of opposing evidence, which has either been destroyed by the government, or has perished through time. History, the result of cautious and impartial examination of conflicting testimony, is seldom, if ever, found in the writers of Rome. In every public transaction, the original relater, the senate, and the people, *promoted deception*. The Roman history began with fable, and was *continued with a perversion of truth* more deceptive than fable."

The father of British history has thrown over-board all the accounts of Britain before the Roman Invasion. Taking the autobiography of Cæsar as a faithful and true historical record, Camden neglected the British Chronicles, and other materials he might have used; but, because they clashed with Cæsar's statements, he, at once, without hesitation, stigmatised them as false. Subsequently careful examinations have proved their genuineness in spirit, and likewise made manifest the hollowness of the Roman versions. Tacitus

panegyrical Memoir of Agricola by Tacitus, is it apparent that any material revolution had changed their modes of life.

The majority of the vessels built in the river Ebbsfleet were of great bulk. The prows and sterns being raised high above the spray of the sea, were utterly impenetrable by the brazen beaks or rostra of the Roman craft—and, like those of the Veneti, were almost entirely constructed of oak, the produce of the forest, now indiscriminately termed Swanscombe[7] or Stonepark wood, which descended to the verge of the estuary. Formed in the strongest manner and of the

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in his Memoir of Agricola, has shown how severe the Roman censorship was; since they punished those authors with death, after burning their books, who wrote adverse to what was termed "the public weal." He says, "Arulenus Rusticus, for praising Pætus Thrasea, suffered a deadly doom, as did Herennius Senecio, for doing the same to Helvidius Priscus. Nor upon the persons of the authors only, was this cruelty inflicted, but also the books themselves were destroyed; since, to the triumvirate of justice, orders were sent, that in the forum and place of popular elections, the works of men so illustrious for parts and genius should be burned. Yes, in this very fire they imagined that they should abolish the voice and utterance of the Roman people, with the liberty of the senate, and all the ideas and remembrances of the human kind; for they had besides expelled all the professors of philosophy, and driven every laudable science into exile, that nought which was worthy and honest might any where be seen. Mighty, surely, was the testimony we gave of our patience; and, as our forefathers had beheld the ultimate consummation of liberty, so did we of bondage,—since, through dread of informers and inquisitions of state, we were bereft of the common intercourse of speech and attention. Nay, with our utterance we had likewise lost our memory, had it been equally in our power to forget, as to be silent."

[7] Vide p. 26, ante.

most efficient materials, these ships were admirably adapted for distant voyages, or encountering the stormy seas which washed the British shores. It is evident, from Cæsar's description of the naval engagement off the coast of Armorica,[8] that the Roman armament under the command of "young Brutus" was utterly unable to cope with the combined Celtic fleet, because of the magnitude of their vessels; the greater portion of which, in size, must nearly have approached to that of modern men of war. Cæsar endeavours to make it appear that the Romans were victorious, but an attentive perusal of his laboured statement, can scarcely fail convincing an unbiassed reader that it is the attempt of a defeated general to prove a reverse to be a victory.

A most convincing evidence of the British origin of the Belgæ is furnished by Religion. In hierological affairs the Gaulish colonists bowed to the decisions of the British Druidical hierarchy, whilst their sacerdotal alumnars sought in Britain, education in the highest branches of sacred lore.

The Druid School in STONE-PARK WOOD was a celebrated establishment, to which many aspiring continental acolytes resorted for the completion of their studies, and initiation into the mazes of mythological

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[8] The provinces of Gaul on the sea coast between the Seine and the Loire, were called Armorica in the days of Cæsar: the word is pure Celtic, *ar y mor uch, on the sea cliffs.* Seven states were included in the name, of which the modern Quimper, Rennes and Vannes are part. Excepting the single incident of the conquest of the Venetian territory, by the people of Vannes, 164, U. C., they are not mentioned in existing history before the expeditions of the conqueror of Gaul.

mystification. The site of the principal Sacred Grove,[9] in that division of the island, now termed West Kent, was on the heights near HIGHFIELD in Southfleet parish.

The appropriateness of this "seat of learning" for foreign students was evinced by the local advantages it possessed;—combined with a convenient access by water and an immediate proximity to the Great Road from the sea coast into the interior, the name of which, in after days, was corrupted into Watling-street. For

[9] An indistinct resemblance between the Druid rites and the dark idolatries of alienated Judah, seems eternally flitting before our eyes. But we examine, and lo! the trace has apparently vanished to re-appear like a far distant ignis fatuus;—and finally, we are convinced, although we cannot grasp a substance, there is a something more than a mere shadow. A similar veneration for groves, by the British Druids to that of the Jews, who were before the Babylonish captivity, immoderately addicted to like idolatrous practices and heathenish superstitions, is particularly striking. *Isaiah*, alludes to it, c. lxv. v. 3.,

> "A people who provoke me to my face continually;
> Sacrificing in the gardens."

God, in opposition to this species of idolatry, commanded his people to burn all the groves with fire. *Deut.* xii. When Jehu called the priests of Baal together to destroy them out of Israel, those of the groves, amounted to 450. 2 *Kings*, x, 21, 8. The Jews sacrificed and burnt incense upon the hills under oaks. *Hosea*, iv, 13. The superstitious reverence for the oak, although a perversion, appears to have had some connexion with that feeling which led Abraham to erect his tent and his family altar beneath the shade of a spreading tree, as at Mamre and elsewhere—every circumstance unhesitatingly exhibiting the eastern origin of the British aborigines. The parasitical plant the misseltoe, because it vegetated upon the oak, was regarded as a most holy object. It was gathered with pompous ceremonies, and those who were favoured with the precious donation, considered it an inestimable and invaluable prize; believing that it would not only cause fecundity, and the inheritance of all things desirable, but be an amulet against poison and magic.

miles around, the country was studded with densely populated towns, which furnished the young strangers, during their temporary sojourn, with ample opportunities for acquiring a knowledge of the habits and customs of the dwellers on that soil from which their ancestors had emigrated, in years long gone by. The magnitude and shady recesses of the forest rendered it particularly suitable for the exercise of that profound secresy with which the Druids orally instructed their pupils in the knowledge of those doctrines they had mnemonically preserved, independently of their admirable adaptation for calm and serious contemplation. The real government of the nation was in the hands of the Druids, who were either chosen out of the first families, or had achieved eminence by their talents. It was however, imperatively requisite that their moral character should be irreproachable, otherwise they were not admitted even into the inferior classes. Their functions obtained for them the greatest veneration. They were exempt from tax, tribute and military service. Without their approbation the ceans could not war. The Druids were learned in astronomy, geography, jurisprudence, mathematics, mechanics, in fact skilled in almost the whole circle of arts and sciences. The Druidical colleges were divided into classes, of "Druids" "Legislators" and "Bards." The first occupied themselves with the cares of religion; the second with secular affairs; and the latter with historical and other matters worthy of being transmitted to posterity.

We have stated in a preceding chapter, that the religion of the aborigines was a corruption of the worship originally paid to the Deity, by Noah, before the

dispersion from the Plains of Shinar—which, after passing through various phases, had finally settled at the advent of the Romans into Druidism, as, in the East, it has degenerated into Buddhism. The Supreme Being was sometimes[1] recommended to be worshipped under an emblem ; but the Druid hierarchy tendered their adoration to the Father, without the adventitious aids of temple, image or altar—religiously offering a pure heart and humble spirit.[2] Polytheism was not followed in Britain till after the invasion of Aulus Plautius ; and, even then, the Romans were unable to engraft any of their ten thousand deities[3] into the Druid creed. The two emblems adopted were the Sun and the Serpent ; but the latter, when correctly regarded, was only allegorical of the former. The immortality of the soul was inculcated, and if an individual passed through the ordeal of this life, orthodoxly observing the

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[1] As a confirmatory proof that the heavenly bodies, the most visible objects of nature, were irrevocably impressed by the Druids upon the minds of the people, we may instance a beautiful anecdote of the French revolution, related in *Les Derniers Bretons par Emile Souvestre.* The notorious Jean Bon St. Andrè thus threatened a Breton peasant, "Sooner than fail in extinguishing your superstitions, I will pull down all your steeples," "you cannot help leaving us the stars" replied the peasant, "and we can distinguish them further off than our steeples." Among the Druids one only awful mystery was the object of their ceremonies, whilst the Celts in general, omni Galliâ, had the gods of thunder, of light, of battle, etc., etc.

[2] Believe thou still in Him, the aweful Sire
Of men and Gods, whose power we also own
Antient of Days, the essence of all things
That have been, are, and shall be !— PENNIE.
Regnator omnium Deus, cætera atque parentia. TACITUS.

[3] Fosbroke asserts that the Romans had more than that number.

fundamental articles of faith enjoined by the Druids[4], *i. e.*, reverencing the Deity; abstaining from evil; and, behaving courageously; unalloyed happiness rewarded him eternally;—but, if the contrary, a long career of misery and suffering awaited him. To impress the people with the necessity of living properly: upon the death of a disciple, they publicly examined the course of life the defunct had pursued during his probationary phase. If unsatisfactory, the honours of public sepulture, and an elevated sepulchre or barrow were denied him, whilst his sentient spirit was sentenced to wander everlastingly in wretchedness and agony, in dark and icy[5] regions.

Cory also in his *Mythological Enquiry into the Recondite Theology of the Heathen* says "multiplied their gods without any kind of restriction."

[4] The following epitome of the religious principles of the primitive Druids of Britain, drawn from their own memorials, will shew their conformity to the religion of Noah and the antediluvians; that the patriarchal religion was actually preserved in Britain under the name of Druidism; and, that the British Druids, while they worshipped in groves and under the oak like Abraham, did really adore the God of Abraham, and trust in His mercy. They believed in the existence of one Supreme Being. In the doctrine of Divine Providence, or that God is the Governor of the universe. In man's moral responsibility, and they considered his state in this world as a state of discipline and probation. They had a most correct view of moral good and evil. They believed in the immortality of the soul, and a state of recompense after death. They believed in a final and coming judgment. They believed in the transmigration of the soul. They observed particular days and seasons for religious purposes. Marriage was held sacred among them. See an ably written tractate on the Patriarchal Religion of Britain, by the Rev. D. James, which displays great research. Also the learned Dr. Parsons, in his "Remains of Japhet," ch. iv., ap. Yeowell's Chron. An. British Church, p. 7.

[5] A tradition of this feeling still exists in the expressions, "The

The duties of legislation devolved upon the second order of Druids. It was their province to enact, expound and enforce the laws; taking cognizance of their breach—they sat as judges, either to acquit or punish, since from their decision there was no appeal.[6] Criminals found guilty of the gravest offences, they condemned to be burned in osier cages; and, here may be incidentally contradicted the popular fallacy of innocent victims being offered on Druidical altars. Historical researches combined with recent discoveries, have most satisfactorily shewn that British augurs never predicted future events by the manner in which blood oozed from the palpitating forms of human sacrifices; and, that the consuming of living men by fire, with the Druids, was entirely a judicial proceeding, and not a religious rite. In truth, execution and not sacrifice.[7]

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cold grave," "The dark grave," "The silent grave." It is not unnatural that amongst the Celtic nations the notion should have existed that the place of eternal punishment for evil-doers was *in coldness*, since it formed a diametrical contrast with their belief that to be in the *lightsome* beams of the sun, the emblem of their religion, was happiness. But the Sun was not worshipped, as has been erroneously supposed, but *only* regarded by the Britons as the symbol of the Supreme Moral Light of the Universe.

[6] The ceans themselves were amenable to the Druid decrees.—In fact, *Dio Chris.*, says of the British ceans—it is the Druids who reign in reality; and the ceans, though they sit on thrones, *feast in splendour, and live in palaces*, are only instruments for executing their designs.

[7] Much stress has been laid upon the fires seen kindled in Anglesea, to burn the Romans. But we must remember that the intrusion into "Holy Places," by an invading force, was a criminal procedure. And that the Druids looking judicially upon the wholesale robbery attempted to be perpetrated by the Romans, felt it to be their duty to condemn the robbers to the flames. Nor were the Druids deceived

It is much to be regretted that the Druids should have considered these laws,[8] like their religion, too

in the character of the invaders,—for no sooner was the isle conquered, than they deprived its possessors of their territories, and reduced them to slavery. Nevertheless, it is not impossible that instances might have occurred of the propitiatory sacrifice of a single victim, offered when the public mind was darkened by the dread of or suffering under the infliction of some unusual occurrence, and if so, we find similar distortions of Divine will in Holy Writ: "Upon a lofty and high mountain hast thou set up thy bed: even thither wentest thou up to offer sacrifice."—"Enflaming yourself with idols under every green tree, slaying the children in the valleys under the clifts of the rocks."—*Isa.* lvii. 5. 7. But the immolation of human sacrifices is not a proof of a deficiency in civilization—because, even the Greeks and Romans were guilty of like cruel customs. Aristomenes the Messenian sacrificed three hundred men, among whom was Theopompus, one of the kings of Sparta, to Jupiter of Ithome. Themistocles, in order to procure the assistance of the gods against the Persians, sacrificed some captives of that nation. Bacchus had an altar in Arcadia, upon which young damsels were beaten to death with rods. Such sacrifices were frequently offered to the manes and infernal gods. Hence Achilles slew twelve Trojan captives at the funeral of Patroclus. Æneas is another example of the same practice. Authors cited by Suetonius, affirm that Augustus, in honor of his uncle Julius Cæsar, (who was by this time *deified* by the Romans), sacrificed three hundred Romans, partly senators and partly knights, upon an altar erected to the *new deity*. Degrading as this conduct seems to us, we must nevertheless remember, that the All-Wise Being who rules this earth permitted it to His own ends, that it might hereafter exhibit His works, and shew, how wilfully, weak men "changed the glory of the uncorruptible God."

[8] According to Geoffrey of Monmouth, Molmutius Dunwallo was the first cean who wore a golden crown, and primarily collected and digested the laws previously obeyed in this realm. His code was termed *the Molmutian*. Giuethelin, who reigned nearly a century afterwards, married a lady named Martia, who was deeply "accomplished in all kinds of learning." This queen undertook the task of

sacred for committal to writing.[9] But it is clear, from the special ordinance against any other mode than memory, for the transmission of their knowledge in these points, that they were acquainted with written arbitrary characters. The normal alphabet they used, was originally imported from the Phœnicians. It consisted of about fourteen letters. During the lapse of ages that swept over the Druid schools, and gathered to their fathers successive professors of learning and literature, the characters and the orthography imperceptibly varied; the latter particularly in the substitution of the vowels, insomuch, that at Cæsar's era, that general was enabled to correspond with Cicero at Rome, in Greek; avoiding, had his missives been intercepted, the danger of his intentions and future operations being exposed to his foes.

The Bards have been supposed to rank the lowest amongst the Druid orders. But this fanciful division we are inclined to include amongst popular fallacies.

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remodelling the code, which was called after her the *Martian law*. These laws subsequently amalgamated still form the basis of the *common law*, "far excelling the *statute law* both in theoretical and practical wisdom."

[9] Unfortunately not only the Druids, but the Magi of Persia, the Brahmins of India, the Chaldeans of Assyria, the Pabas of the Mexicans, the Priests of Egypt, in fact, we may say, with one exception, the whole of the priests of antiquity, alike refused to commit any of their secret doctrines to writing. Their intention was to hide the truth, so that it should not be lost, but yet concealed from the multitude. They had, moreover, two sets of doctrines, which effectually differed from the other, and still more tended to veil their craft. One system they communicated to members of their own order alone, which, on admission into the sacerdotal fraternity the neophites were sworn, in the most impressive manner, to keep

The Bards according to Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xv. c. 9, "celebrated the noble actions of illustrious persons in heroic poems to the sweet sounds of the lyre." Diodorus Siculus likewise says, lib. v. c. 31., that they "are excellent and melodious poets, and sing their poems, in which they praise some, and satirize others to the music of an instrument resembling a lyre."[1] The same authority also states that even when contending armies were on the point of battling, the presence of a bard singing "sweet and melodious songs" has calmed the rage of the warriors and prevented the shedding of blood.

The weight of evidence furnished by the classic authors causes the beam to preponderate, on the side of the bards constituting one of the chief orders amongst the Druids.[2] Even the most warlike of the ceans es-

profoundly secret from all the rest of mankind. In the Irish translation of the Scriptures, the Magicians of Egypt are called the Druids of Egypt; and the same appellation is given to the Magi, or Wise Men of the East mentioned in the Gospel of St. Matthew.

[1] Sons, of "Jubal; the father of all such as handle the harp." *Gen.* vi. 21.

[2] The Bards were the professors of oratory,—and they educated the British ceans and warriors who were "famous for their eloquence." *Tacitus* says, "the British chieftains before a battle fly from rank to rank, and address their men with animating speeches, tending to inflame their courage, increase their hopes, and dispel their fears." The arts of oratory were much studied, and the harangues of the chieftains possessed much energy, sweetness and elegance. Great attention was paid to purity of language, for the ears of their critical auditory would neither permit the employment of a coarse term, nor the vicious construction of a sentence. Their addresses abounded with metaphors derived from their eastern origin. They compounded the primitive particles to a great extent, instances will be seen in their etymologies, p. 42, 51, etc., *ante*.

teemed it a privilege to be enrolled in the order of the Bards, as it bestowed upon them powers they otherwise would not have possessed.

The Druids were richly clad in long robes agreeably to the regulations of their order; the priests wore long beards;[4] and the hair of their heads short while other people kept the hair of their heads long and shaved off their beards with the exception of the upper lip. When religiously officiating they wore white surplices, breast plates of gems, crimson hoods and gold chains around their necks.[5] They were limited to six colours in their braccæ.[6]

The costume of the ceans was most magnificent and ostentatious; they wore golden torques as emblems of

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The Bards too composed the triplicated sentences called *The Triads*, which were used to perpetuate tradition, and in which, they set forth every thing relating to their religion, history and science, that the same might be committed to memory and handed down with the greater ease. The theological triads are as follows:—

I.—There are three primeval Unities, and more than one of each cannot exist,
One God; One Truth; and
One Point of Liberty, where all opposites equiponderate.

II.—Three things proceed from the three primeval Unities,
All of Life; All that is Good; and All Power.

III.—God consists necessarily of three things,
The Greatest of Life; The Greatest of Knowledge; and
The Greatest of Power—and of what is the greatest there can be no more of anything.
Cory's Mythol. Enq. 70.

[4] *Richardson* in his *Travels*, vol. i., says in describing the tombs of Egypt:—"Intermixed with the figures we frequently meet with the more agreeable pictures of entertainments, with music and dancing, and well-dressed people listening to the sound of the harp, *played by a priest* with his head shaved, and dressed in a loose, flowing, white robe, shot with red stripes." The dress of the Druids.

[5] Toland's Specimens of the Critical History of the Celtic Religion and Learning.

[6] The Druids certainly allowed the ceans to wear seven colours in their braccæ, whilst they contented themselves with six. Indivi-

power, and their long flowing scarlet robes were embroidered with pearls and precious metals. Their defensive instruments of war, helmets, shields, breastplates, &c, were inlaid with gold and embossed with curious workmanship. Their male subjects were garbed in the quality of the substances which composed their dress according to their respective grades, but the gaudiest colours were generally selected. In the field they were habited in tight-fitting jackets of plaid cloth which midway closed up and left the arms bare, with braccæ which reached nearly to the knee. Their feet were enveloped in a species of boot, made of leather laced up to the calf with thongs.

The females paid that attention to dress they invariably exhibit. They formed their tunics of plaids of contrasting tints, so cut and contrived in shape as to expose the bosom, neck and forearm. They were decorated with gold necklaces, armlets and bracelets. Strings of glass beads and pearls were woven amidst their long hair. They were particularly attentive to the cleanliness of their persons, bathing daily summer and winter. The majority of the men were tall and finely proportioned; warlike, and haughty, yet merciful; with ruddy cheeks and curled hair; their air and action exhibiting magnanimity and independence; and Strabo says, the Britons he saw in Rome, were half a foot higher than the tallest Romans. The women were modest and affectionate; fair and comely;[7] with splendidly-formed sy-

duals of the noblest rank were allowed five; governors of fortresses, four; officers and young gentlemen of quality, three; common soldiers, two; and common people, one.

[7] The principal employment of the women was to prepare wool,

metrical limbs, and very beautiful features;—tenderly attached to their offspring, they artlessly lived in the constant exercise of moral virtues.

It has been affirmed, that the Britons of the era we are describing, "had their wives in common." Fortunately the proofs we possess of their general habits demonstrate the absurdity of such an accusation, which entirely originated in the imperfect knowledge obtained by the Roman invaders of the language and customs of the natives. *The Triads* expressly inculcate the sanctity of the nuptial vow, and teach the happiness of family society. Nay, in contradistinction to Cæsar's libellous statements upon the chastity of the British females, we have much indirect, but nevertheless analogous testimony—that the fair sex enjoyed amongst the Celtic tribes "a rank, and an attachment utterly unknown in all the *self-styled* civilized world of antiquity; and which the spirit of Christianity has since matured and completed." That morals were regarded, is evident from Cæsar's own observation, that amongst the youth it was considered shameful to be connected with women before twenty years of age; and the reason assigned is similar to that furnished by Tacitus in regard to their motives for late marriages.

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and spinning and weaving it in looms for clothing. The looms were formed by a list of three yards long, to which at one end the threads of the warp were affixed, and at the opposite a roller of the same length; the weight of which being suspended, kept them stretched. The threads of the warp were so placed as to be readily intersected. Shuttles were not used as the women conducted the thread of the woof of the warp with their fingers, and with an iron comb, having a handle press the woof to give a body to their cloth.

"He watch'd her nimble fingers thread the woof."

The warlike habits of the Belgæ combining with the mechanical tastes of the Britons, led to a conversion of the vehicles used by the aborigines into engines of war by the addition of scythes to the axletrees. Some of these war-chariots were manufactured in a most ornamental and gorgeous form—those in which their ceans combated being constructed of solid silver or burnished brass, others were built with sonorous sides. The horses were defended by metal plates and their trappings profusely decorated with ivory and brass furniture. Cæsar describes the tactics of the warrior drivers of these vehicles, and declares that his legions were intimidated at a mode of warfare so superior to that practised in Gaul.[8]

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[8] At the first soirée for the season of the Herefordshire Philosophical Institution, held October 28, 1844, the President of the Institution, Rev. C. Bird, stated that he had brought with him that evening a relic, and an exact representation of a ring, from two tumuli lately opened, in which also a most curious discovery took place, particularly interesting to the excavators, as it tended to illustrate a portion of early English history, which described the British warriors as contending with their enemies in chariots, with scythes, hooks, or sharp cutting instruments affixed to their wheels. The manner in which the Britons fought with their chariots was this : First, they drove violently up and down, flinging their darts at the foe ; the very terror and noise of their horses and chariots frequently breaking the enemy's ranks. Then, one of the fighting men who accompanied the charioteer jumped down and fought on foot. Upon this, the driver left the battle for a little distance, placing himself in such a position that should the warrior be overpressed by the enemy, an effort could be made to remove him. Thus they actually possessed the activity of cavalry, and with it the steadiness of infantry, and withal were so expert by daily training, that even when galloping down a steep hill they would run along the pole rest on the harness, stop and turn, and throw themselves again

The peculiar custom of throwing away their habiliments in action, probably gave rise to the report that some of the Britons went in a state of nudity. A statement extremely questionable, even if the climate would have permitted it. The report, doubtless, originated from the circumstance of warriors, in the excitement of fighting, hurling away their tartan garments. When Britain in later periods was better known to the Romans, this calumny is not repeated.

In accordance with the stragetical views of the Belgic Britons, the centre of a wood with heights was ge-

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into their chariots with the greatest dexterity. Cicero, writing to Trebatius, while the latter was here with Cæsar, playfully exhorts his friend as there is neither gold nor silver in Britain, to get hold of one of the essedæ, or war chariots, and make his way back to Rome with all speed. In another epistle, he cautions Trebatius to take care that he be not snatched up and carried off before he knows where he is, by some driver of these rapid vehicles. The reverend gentleman then observed, with respect to these chariots, the fact of their use has not obtained general credit,—many have doubted, and some even ventured to deny their existence altogether; but one of the Yorkshire barrows under consideration proves most undeniably that such modes of warfare did certainly prevail among the antient warriors of Britain. In opening that barrow, about the centre thereof, was exposed the skeleton of a person recumbent, with his iron chariot on the one side of him, and the skeleton of his horse on the other.* I have been favoured, continued the President, with an inspection of these interesting relics; the iron wheels were much corroded by age, and were rapidly crumbling to dust after their exposure to air.

* The barrows in question were opened in 1817. They are situated on the Yorkshire Wolds, on a line between Beverly and Market Weighton, about three miles above the latter market town. A slight sketch (with a plate of some of the articles) will be found in Oliver's History of Beverly, quarto, page 4, from the pen of Dr. Hull, of Beverly, in a letter to Mr. Henderwell, of Scarborough. There is also some short notice in Poulson's "Beverly" of this transaction. *A. J. Dunkin's Rep. of the Proceedings at the First Sess. Brit. Archæological Association.*

nerally selected for the site of their towns, because it presented the materials required for fortification, and a good position for defence in those aggressive wars the Belgæ were perpetually waging. At one of the extremities, upon an elevated mount or dûn, around which ran terraces, dwelt, isolated from his people, the *cean* or governor of the locality; whose power depended upon the martial efficiency of his tribe, since the Druids retained the control of the people during peace.

The appointment of these local rulers was vested in the chief cean, who himself succeeded to the sovereignty by hereditary descent, which, however, was not limited to the male sex.[8] Arbitrary as was the appointment of the provincial governors—after all, they little regarded the pleasure or paid attention to the behests of their lord ; and instead of maintaining the intactness of the general laws, were continually committing infractions of them and trespassing upon their neighbour's property, who, when sufficiently strong made reprisals.

The neighbourhood of Dartford presents an admirable specimen of this kind of fortress residence. It is now called GREEN HILL, a corruption of CRUAN its original name. The terraces by which it was antiently surrounded are still visible on the south-western side. It commanded the road by which Cæsar marched from the coast to attack Caswallon, and is within a short distance of the farthermost spot the Roman forces reached in their second invasion. Up to the year 1845 it was

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[8] Striking examples of this circumstance are furnished us by Bodua and Cartismandua.

in a large forest, when, from the depreciated value of wood land, it was then cut down and grubbed up, developing, during the process, numbers of the subterranean residences of the aboriginal Britons, but which the subsequent more refined inhabitants used for store-houses.

The residences of the richer inhabitants were built partly of stone and timber, and principally of a circular form. At Aylesford in this county, some of the houses still stand, says Mr. Allport,[9] upon the circular foundations of the primitive British houses. The upper parts were of richly carved wood, "a material peculiarly susceptible of ornament," curiously painted with brilliant oil colours. The dwellings of the poorer classes were almost invariably constructed in a circular form of logs and wattles, plastered over with clays of various hues, red, blue, yellow, and white, to give them a gaudy appearance. The roof rose in a kind of cone or dome to a great height, and was covered with skins or straw. In the centre of these erections, which were very capacious, was a kind of wattled funnel, supported on four pillars of wood, which, plastered with clay or a gaily coloured cement, (according to the means of the occupant,) served the purpose of a chimney, and carried the smoke through the conical point of the roof. This tube, which was very wide below, also lighted the hall. The sleeping apartments, were lighted by small apertures, and divided from the great hall by partitions of elaborately ornamented planks, or hurdles plastered with mud. In the winter the dwellings of

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[9] Allport's Maidstone.

the lower orders were sometimes transferred to the excavations of their predecessors, which also served for storehouses and hiding places from their foes.[1]

Those who could afford it had elegantly carved and painted household furniture and articles of luxury. The fictile ware in the majority of instances was but rudely finished; the drinking cups of the higher orders being either carved out of wood, or formed of shell or bone,[2] whilst the most luxurious possessed goblets of the precious metals. Basket-work especially entered into the ornamental composition of the bedsteads, tables, and chairs. The wicker-work of the Britons was particularly celebrated, and specimens of this fabrication in a variety of pleasing, graceful and useful forms were exported. Fishing boats or coracles were likewise made of the same material.

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[1] Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemi et receptaculum frugibus: quia rigorem rigorum ejusmodi locis molliunt: et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur: abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur, aut eo ipso fallunt quod, fallunt quod quærenda sunt.—*Tacit.* cap xvi.

[2] Vinum poculis corneis ac ligneis.—*Diod. Sic.*

CHAP. VI.

CÆSAR'S FIRST INVASION.

"And deem ye that an easy booty lies
Before your bloodless arms? or they that throng
Their isle's rock-ramparts, think ye they have come
With open arms to greet ye? But their chief,
First on the foremast galley, saw their ranks,
Death boding, and beheld their white cliffs crown'd
With shields and bristling spears, and steeds of war,
And chariots numberless. Along the coast
Swiftly they sail'd, if hardly crags less stern
Might yield them fairer landing: swift the while
The Britons streaming o'er the rocks and hills
Kept pace beside, and vaunted death should greet
The tyrant and his legions, ere their foot
Polluted freedom's soil. Then rose the din
Of battle: in the waves midway they met
Rome's proudest warriors, and the foaming surge
Dash'd crimson-dyed; and scythe-arm'd chariots swept
The shore in unresisted might, and darts
Fell ever in swift tempest: once again
In proud derision Britain shook her spear,
And bade them take, an' if it liked them well
Such iron welcome to her freeborn hills'
And Rome a moment quailed; but one who grasp'd
An eagle in his left hand, in his right
A sword, "Romans, down into the waves:
On I or betray our eagle to the foe;
I'll on for Rome and Cæsar!"

Cambridge Prize Poem, 1846.

THE epoch we now arrive at, was one fatal to Cæsar's fortunes; it is one however which for political reasons, he most studiously mis-represented. For instead of his schemes being crowned with success they were signally defeated, and his armies were almost annihilated,—as we shall endeavour satisfactorily to demonstrate in this and the subsequent chapter.

Under pretence of providing for the security of their own frontiers or extending their institutions, the Romans undertook enterprises against the independent populations of countries they pleased to call *barbarous*.

Although much has been said of the rude and savage habits of these *barbarians*, and notwithstanding some advantages were actually introduced by their after subjection, it is certain that our sympathies are at variance with our judgment, and we instinctively rejoice in the hardy valour with which the Belgic Britons encountered and defeated the *civilised* invaders of their land.

They had in their favour the rights of freemen, and the virtues which belong to a patriarchal form of society and an independent life. They were opposed by the formidable power of disciplined armies and by the persevering policy of the Roman Senate, which was ready to sacrifice its wealth and legions for the attainment of a chimerical object. Fighting for all that is dearest to man, defeat, they knew, must be followed by the loss of liberty, perhaps by the gradual extinction of their race; whilst their civilised assailants could boast of no such exalted or heart-stirring motives, and the courage displayed on their side was only the result of that discipline which made them instruments of the caprices of ambition of a chief like Cæsar.[1]

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[1] Julius Cæsar was born 100 B.C., of the ancient Julian family, In youth he was a fop, a debauchee, and a spendthrift; afterwards, an intriguer. Marius was his uncle, and he married Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, and on her death, Pompeia. Julia, Cæsar's daughter by his first wife, married Pompey the Great, with whom and Crassus he formed in 60 a triumvirate, opposed by Cato, Cicero, and the republicans. In 58, Pompey became pro-consul in Spain, &c., Crassus in the east, and Cæsar in Gaul and Germany. In his eight years' wars against the Gauls, Germans, Helvetians, and Britons, three millions of men were slain. On the Senate ordering the disbanding of his army in 49, he marched into Italy,

It is evident not only from our previous statements. but also from Cæsar's Commentaries, at the time the Romans first invaded Britain, the inhabitants were in a highly civilised condition, and in constant communication with the most polished states in the East. The plausible reason assigned by the Roman general in his autobiographical pretext for the invasion is, because the Islanders furnished naval assistance to their allies the Veneti. A cause much more probable than the supposition mooted by Suetonius, which in some cases has found adherents, that Cæsar came over for the sordid purpose of gathering pearls, one of the chief items of British export.

Having resolved upon the subjection of the Island, Cæsar commenced the construction of transports for his troops in Gaul. Upon the 25th of August, B C. 55, his preparations being completed, he embarked his men at Wissant and departed from the continent" above

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entered Rome, and seized the treasury. He followed Pompey and the senate into Greece. and at Pharsalia, in 48, defeated them; and followed Pompey into Egypt, where he had been assassinated; Cato, Scipio, and others into Africa, where Cato in despair killed himself; and then defeated Pompey's sons in Spain. In 45, he took the title of Imperator and Perpetual Dictator, but the republicans Brutus, Cassius, Cimber, Casca, Scipio, and about sixty others united to destroy him as a public enemy, and in five months, March, 44, he was slain in the senate house, receiving twenty-three wounds, and being pronounced by Cassius " the worst of men." Mark Antony, his confederate, however, availed himself of Cæsar's popularity with the soldiers and the mob, to whom Cæsar had been very prodigal, and obliged the patriotic senators to leave Rome; when civil wars ensued which ended in Cæsar's nephew, Augustus Octavius, obtaining in 29, the power of Cæsar, which descended in a line called Cæsars, by far the most odious monsters, that ever disgraced and afflicted humanity.

Although much has been said of the rude and savage habits of these "*barbarians,*" and, notwithstanding some advantages were actually introduced by their after subjection, it is nevertheless certain, that our sympathies are at variance with our judgment, and we instinctively rejoice in the hardy valour with which the Belgic Britons encountered and defeated the *civilised* invaders of their land.

They had in their favour the rights of freemen, and the virtues which belong to a patriarchal form of society and an independent life. They were opposed by the formidable power of disciplined cohorts and by the persevering policy of the Roman Senate, ever ready to sacrifice its wealth and legions for the attainment of a chimerical object. Fighting for all that is dearest to man, defeat, they knew, must be followed by the loss of liberty, perhaps by the gradual extinction of their race; whilst their civilised assailants could boast of no such exalted or heart-stirring motives, and whose courage was only the result of that discipline which made them blind instruments of the ambitious caprices of a chief like Cæsar.[1]

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[1] Julius Cæsar was born 100 B.C., of the antient Julian family, In youth he was a fop, a debauchee, and a spendthrift; afterwards, an intriguer. Marius was his uncle, and he married Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, and on her death, Pompeia. Julia, Cæsar's daughter by his first wife, married Pompey the Great, with whom and Crassus he formed in 60 a triumvirate, opposed by Cato, Cicero, and the republicans. In 58, Pompey became pro-consul in Spain, &c., Crassus in the East, and Cæsar in Gaul and Germany. In his eight years' wars against the Gauls, Germans, Helvetians, and Britons, three millions of men were slain. On the Senate ordering the disbanding of his army in 49, he marched into Italy,

Were not the statements in the preceding pages sufficiently demonstrative of the fact—that, at the period the Romans first invaded Britain,[2] its inhabitants were in a highly civilized condition, and in constant communication with the most polished states in the East, it would be fully evidenced from the *partial* descriptions given in Cæsar's autobiographical Commentaries. The plausible pretext assigned by the Roman general for the invasion is,—because the Islanders furnished naval assistance to their allies the Veneti. Bitterly, does he complain, that during his arduous campaigns in Gaul, the islanders aided their kinsmen on the continent with ships and men. His details infer, that the Kentish men were celebrated for their skill in maritime matters

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entered Rome, and seized the treasury. He followed Pompey and the senate into Greece, and at Pharsalia, in 48, defeated them; and followed Pompey into Egypt, where he had been assassinated; Cato, Scipio, and others into Africa, where Cato in despair killed himself; and then defeated Pompey's sons in Spain. In 45, he took the title of Imperator and Perpetual Dictator, but the republicans Brutus, Cassius, Cimber, Casca, Scipio, and about sixty others united to destroy him as a public enemy, and in five months, March, 44, he was slain in the senate house, receiving twenty-three wounds, and being pronounced by Cassius "the worst of men." Mark Antony, his confederate, however, availed himself of Cæsar's popularity with the soldiers and the mob, to whom Cæsar had been very prodigal, and obliged the patriotic senators to leave Rome; when civil wars ensued, which ended in Cæsar's nephew, Augustus Octavius, obtaining in 29, the power of Cæsar, which descended in a line called Cæsars, by far the most odious monsters, that ever disgraced and afflicted humanity.

[2] It is obvious from the following passage in Lucretius, that Britain was at least in the recollection of the Romans, before Cæsar:—

Nam quid Britannum cœlum differe putamus.
Et quod in Ægypto est, qua mundi claudicat axis.

—affairs, of which he admits his countrymen were helplessly ignorant.[3] Cæsar relates that immediately prior to his invasion of Kent, the combined fleets of the Veneti, and their allies the British, hazarded an engagement off the coast of Armorica, now Bretagne or Brittanny, against the Romans. In this unfortunate combat, which lasted from nine in the morning till sunset, two hundred and twenty large ships were destroyed, and the naval power of Gaul and Britain utterly annihilated. Now, this cause is much more probable than the supposition of Suetonius,[4] which in some cases

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[3] Auxilia ex Britanniâ, quæ contra eas regiones posita est arcessunt. *Cæsar*, lib iii, § 9. Thus, from Cæsar's narrative, it appears that the Britons had frequently sent auxiliaries to Gaul, a measure to which they might have been induced by the connexion subsisting between the two countries, in order to repel a foreign power, had there been no other motive; but at this time there was another, to which the *Triads* attribute the hostilities of Cæsar against this country. "Cassibelan, enamoured of Flur, the daughter of Auggnach Gorr, finding that she had been carried off by a prince of Gascony, called Mwrchan, and presented to Julius Cæsar, made a descent on Gaul; and having slaughtered six thousand of the Cæsarians, rescued and brought her back. Cæsar, to avenge himself, came into Britain."—*Triad* 102 and 124. Cæsar, in his account of the battle between the Romans and the Veneti, with their allies, the Britons, (B.C. 56), patheticallÿ laments the disproportionate size of his vessels, and the unacquaintance of sailor-like tactics amongnst his men. He admits (lib. iii, 14)"neither young Brutus, to whom he gave the command of the fleet, nor the centurions and military tribunes, who had the charge of particular ships, *knew what course to take, or in what manner to conduct the fight.*" *Vide also* p. 69. *ante.*

[4] Pliny relates that Cæsar offered at the shrine of Venus, whom he once stated to be the ancestor of one of his aunts, (*Suet.* c. vi.) a breast plate georgeously studded with British pearls. Other

has found adherents, that Cæsar came over for the sordid purpose of gathering pearls, one of the chief items of British export.

Cæsar having finally determined upon the subjugation of the island, early in the spring of 55 B. C., commenced in Gaul, the construction of transports for his troops. Upon the 25th of August, B. C., 55, his preparations being completed, he embarked his men at Wissant and departed from the continent "about the third watch of the night with a good gale to the sea." Fortunately for him, his gallies escaped or passed through the British fleet without being attacked. The next point to be considered is the place of Cæsar's landing; which has for many years been one of the vexed questions of Kentish History. We are inclined to agree with the Rev. Beale Post, who furnished a paper upon the subject, for the first Congress of the

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authorities acquaint us, that the Romans placed a high value upon pearls, esteeming them more precious than gems. Solinus affirms that the fact of the pearls being British was attested by an inscription on the shield. Pomponius Mela also asserts that the seas of Britain generate pearls. So also Aelian in his History of Animals, and Origen in his Commentary on St. Matthew. Marcellinus too and the poet Ausonius prettily describe them as "white shell beads." These pearls have been since repeatedly mentioned, by different historians, but their fishery has of late years been neglected. Swainson the eminent naturalist has recently expressed much surprise that the regular fisheries which once existed for this native production should have been abandoned. There is little doubt but that it is owing to the pearl not being considered so ornamental as it formerly was. The British pearls are found in the Duck Fresh-water pearl mussel (Anodon Anatinus) and in the swan ditto (Anadon Cygneus.)

British Archaeological Association, holden at Canterbury, in 1844; and which, with the after-remarks by the Dean of Hereford, and the Rev. R. H. Barham, with confirmatory letters by Captain Martin, will be found in the Report of the Proceedings, edited by Alfred John Dunkin.

The due ascertaining of the place where the Roman army disembarked, is most important, since, on it depends much of our correct knowledge of Cæsar's subsequent proceedings. As many of our readers may not be acquainted with the book, we unhesitatingly lay some copious extracts before them:—

From the great alteration of the outline of the Kentish coast since this invasion, some little difficulty at first appears; but there is nothing which cannot be satisfactorily explained, sufficient data still existing to enable us to form correct conclusions.

Rather more than a century and a half ago, Dr. Halley afforded very important illustrations as to Cæsar's landing, by the astronomical calculations he applied; and to that eminent man may be assigned the merit of placing several points on the basis of certainty. Nevertheless, his researches were not afterwards sufficiently followed out with local examinations and a due consideration of the antient form of the coast. From preconceived notions, certain conclusions were supposed to result from his discoveries, which by no means necessarily followed; hence, as well as illustrating, they also obscured the subject.

Dr. Halley ascertained that Cæsar's landing took place in the year of Rome 696, in the consulships of Pompey and Crassus, or fifty-five years before Christ:

and that sixty-eight years afterwards, A.D. 14, at the death of Augustus, a remarkable eclipse of the moon occurred, which was made use of by the unfortunate Drusus, son of Tiberius, to quell a mutiny of the Pannonian army. Combining these materials, and making them the basis of astronomical calculations, he was enabled to trace back the moons through all the intervening interval, and to fix the exact time of night at which Cæsar's full moon occurred, and consequently the precise day of reaching Britain,—the state of the tide at the time he lifted his anchors to proceed along the shore, and the probable hour of his landing, which he considered to have been between five and six in the evening.

It remains to add, that he regarded Dover as his first place of arrival, and, as he must have proceeded with a rising tide, he maintained that his course was up the coast, and Deal his ultimate place of landing.

His observations on Cæsar's expeditions will be found in the seventeenth volume of the Philosophical Transactions. Although science was so successfully applied to a portion of this subject, it was soon discovered that Halley's place of landing did not correspond in other respects with Cæsar's narrative; first, as to the distance to the Stour, the river afterwards mentioned; and, secondly, as to the landing place which Cæsar describes as being so muddy and slippery that his soldiers could not stand firmly upon the shore, which but ill resembled Deal beach. To obviate this, Archdeacon Batteley endeavoured to shew, that the old Richborough Bay, nearly in the same direction, but much further on, was the actual landing place; but

which increases the distance to eighteen Roman miles and upwards, and suits still less in its position in regard to the river. To account for Cæsar having proceeded so far, Dr. Batteley supposed he was unaware of the effect of the tide, which, with the wind, assisted his progress. Notwithstanding these inconsistencies, Dr. Batteley's ideas, from the want of a better hypothesis, were considered the most feasible carrying out of those of Halley ; and as such, were most usually adopted. Dr. Halley's discoveries in this instance seem to have checked all subsequent enquiries, except those, which merely suggested modifications of his opinions.

Still, however, Halley's discoveries must be the basis of our correctly understanding this point ; but the great source of error appears to be the supposing that Dover was the place where Cæsar first made the land, and that he necessarily proceeded up the coast or towards Deal. These two particulars being set right, Halley still furnishes us with most important information.

In respect to the first, Folkstone is offered by Mr. Post, as a correction of the usually received opinion, and whoever examines the features of that locality, will perceive that the antient harbour there, winding inland for some little distance between the hills, would very perfectly make good Cæsar's words, that darts could be cast down on the shore from the heights, and thus we have a point of correspondence, which has been very generally overlooked.

In addition to the situation of Folkstone, there is another peculiarity which has also escaped notice. Whilst the original form of the coast subsisted, the

tide flowed up an antient estuary of the Rother near this town, which has, long since, been completely choked up. Near Folkstone, too, the tide was divided into two branches; and, while the major part followed the impulse up the British Channel, the other was directed to the adjoining estuary. However, before proceeding further, we will devote a few lines to the material changes the form of the coast, in this part, has undergone during the last eighteen centuries.[5]

The alteration of the course of the river Rother, is a fact too strongly evidenced for any doubt to be entertained. It is known to have flowed out formerly by Lympne or Lemanus Portus[6] towards Folkstone. The agents in changing its direction are *reputed* to have been violent storms, which obstructed its outlet with vast quantities of beach and silt cast up from the "depths of the sea;" joined certainly, to its natural channel being impeded in various places by embankments, for agricultural purposes. Under these circumstances, excessive land-floods, when they occurred, tended to cause the waters to force a freer passage to the sea, where no insuperable barriers prevented. In the Middle Ages, either the Rother or its principal

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[5] In the *Archaeological Album*, edited by T. Wright, esq., will be found (p. 202,) a sketch, by F. W. Fairholt, esq., of some Saxon barrows near Folkstone. On the summit of the steep hill to the left, is a strongly entrenched camp or fortress, popularly called Cæsar's camp.

[6] The etymology of Lemanus Portus is from the Celtic word *leam*, a rower, and *aman*, river; two words emblematical of its being an old Celtic port and moreover expressive of its use.

branch, made its exit at New Romney;—at a subsequent period, that is, since the year 1248, it has directed its course entirely to Rye, where it has successively formed two harbours, the Rye old harbour and the new one. This affords a species of evidence that it was a large estuary; which seems further established, from its being authentically known that a great portion of what is called Romney marsh, with which its course was connected, has at different times, been inned from the sea, much of which must have been on the borders of this estuary. The flowing of the tide from near Folkstone in this direction,—that is, a portion of it being diverted this way from its main course up the channel, would only have been the natural indraught which it would have had from the sea, on the rising of the tide, like other estuaries.

So, Cæsar when he made the land, anchored off Folkstone, and was just at the spot whence he might have proceeded, with a rising tide in his favour, in two directions. This fact being shown, a very great difficulty in describing his movements is explained. Thence, he proceeded westward instead of north east. Eight miles in this direction doubtless brought him to the neighbourhood of Lympne, where he landed; and, there it was the native proprietors of the soil

> " 'Gainst the war-proof Roman stood;
> Spurned the polish of transgressors,
> And sold their freedom with their blood.
>
> 'Whelmed in the darksome stream of time,
> Roman, Briton, now repose;
> Oaks and firs thick weaving climb,
> Where the bristling pila rose:
>
> And childhood plucks a harmless wreath
> Of broom and wild flowers from the mound,
> Where erst the laurelled meed of Death
> From Honour's hand was welcome found "
>
> KEMPE—*Vide J. Dunkin's History of Bromley.*

It will be seen, that in thus explaining Cæsar's movements, nothing clashes with Halley; and there is every reason to suppose, had that celebrated astronomer's attention been directed to these circumstances, and the change which the coast has sustained, been represented or explained, he would have advocated the opinion Mr. Post advanced, and so ably established.[1]

Upon nearing Britain, the Romans were surprised to find not only the shores protected with strong fortifications, but an enormous and well-arrayed army assembled to oppose their disembarkation. For the intercourse the Britons maintained with the Continent, had furnished them with every information relative to Cæsar's intended invasion.[2] Determined not to submit tamely, they levied forces and gave the supreme

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[1] Mr. Barry says that the Romans hesitated to renew the attack after they had been repulsed in their first attempt at landing, and that Cæsar was compelled to give the usual order in desperate cases, —that the standard of the tenth should be advanced and exposed to the power of the enemy. The standard-bearer, as may be learned from various similar instances, had only the option between the danger of the enemy and certain death by the orders of the commanding officer. It is therefore, natural that he should have preferred an advance, which, at least, gave him a chance of escape. Similar motives influenced the troops, for not to follow the standard was an act of desertion punishable with death. To suppose that the standard-bearer, on his own responsibility, ventured on a step of such importance, is to have a very imperfect idea of antient discipline; by which an advance without orders and flight, were equally capital offences.

[2] In fact the connexion between Britain and Gaul was so intimate that after the Belgic conquest it not unfrequently occurred that the chief ceon wholly dwelt on the continent. Divitiacus, and Comius, both furnish examples of ceans holding sway in both countries.

command to the experienced cean Caswallon. The landing in face of these obstacles, was a task of great danger and difficulty ; nor was it till after various repulses, that the Roman army finally succeeded at a late hour, of the 26th of August. Wearied by their mutual exertions, the two armies reposed for the night nearly opposite each other; the next day the engagement was renewed, and terminated after a sanguinary engagement, slightly to the advantage of the Romans. Consequent upon this partial success, some of the frightened ceans withdrew from the British confederacy, and endeavoured to make terms for themselves with Cæsar. Three days afterwards, the vessels containing the cavalry of the Roman army, were seen off the harbour, followed by the British fleet, the latter unhesitatingly attacked the Roman transports, and not only routed, but utterly prevented even one of them landing their freight. Successful in this attempt, the Britons next destroyed, in the face of the foe, the gallies the Romans had carefully drawn upon the beach for safety. Cæsar however, attributed this untoward affair to the effect of a storm! The British ceans, who had joined the Romans at their first flush of success, now experiencing that the cohorts were not invincible, were so animated by this victory, that they withdrew from the camp the Romans had constructed upon the sea coast, and having ascertained how small was the number of their opponents and noted their deficiencies in military stores, again joined their confederated countrymen, whose spirits they exhilarated by their representations of the miserable condition of their boastful enemy. Cæsar, on September 18th, as his

supply of provisions was extremely insufficient, sent a portion of his troops upon a foraging expedition to a field two miles distant,[3] where he had been informed the corn was unreaped.

Had not Cæsar for once fairly admitted that the county of Kent was densely populated and highly cultivated, it would, nevertheless, have been evident from his narrative, since he describes the field his army plundered as furnishing sufficient forage for its sustenance. It is difficult to consider otherwise than that this field had been left as a bait, to attract the Romans into an ambuscade. Whether such was or not a portion of Caswallon's strategetical plans, it is certain that it answered that purpose, and the Romans were snared by it, and if not nearly annihilated, were most disgracefully beaten, after a bloody slaughter. It is clear, too, that the corn reaped from the *other lands* must have been hoarded at no great distance, or else the commissariat department of the Britons was most ably managed; otherwise, how could the British chief have provisioned the vast troops of horses necessary to draw the chariots, which accompanied, or formed but a part of his immense army, before the first battle?

Anticipating an attack upon the foraging party, one half the Roman army was actually employed in the excursion. Undeterred by the superior discipline of the invaders, the Britons surrounded them and made a desperate and sanguinary attack. Clouds of dust gave Cæsar an inkling of the battle, to which he hurried

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[3] This could not have been at a greater distance, because these foragers were on foot, and had to carry their plunder on their backs.

with the two cohorts who were on duty in the camp, ordering the remainder of his forces to arm and follow. Arrived at the scene of action, he found the defeat of the Romans decisive, hardly a man of the seventh legion escaping to relate the disastrous tale. The field was covered with the dying and dead, and over-run with the chariots and cavalry of the victorious Britons. Having rescued the few exhausted survivors, he retraced his steps, and, pursued by his unrelenting foes, with difficulty attained the refuge of his camp. Quite aware after this battle, that his position in Britain was no longer tenable, he embarked the miserable skeleton of his army, (three hundred men,) in two transports, and sailed away at midnight!

Thus terminated, after three weeks stay, Cæsar's first and much vaunted expedition into Britain; which though highly extolled in Rome as a glorious and wonderful exploit, was only the discovery of a landing-place, together with the certain knowledge that the islanders would not basely surrender their freedom without a struggle. The first battle was fought on the sea shore at Cæsar's landing, August 26th; his second great battle within sight of his camp, about September 7th; and his third when he escaped to the camp say September the 18th, after which, defeated, he fled. The daily harassing skirmishes we have not enumerated, but even in the majority of these, the Romans were worsted, and even when successful, necessarily weakened. It is, therefore, clear that Cæsar was never more than six miles in the interior of Britain in this expedition. The topography of the country at the period of this campaign is so imperfectly known, and

the details which have reached us are so incomplete, that a connected or accurate account of the operations of the Romans is impossible. But there can be no doubt as to the result of the campaign, Cæsar's army everywhere encountered the fiercest resistance. It subdued no more than the ground it stood upon, and after vainly attempting to attain the British sanctuary on the Stour, and fighting several engagements, was compelled to seek the shelter of the camp; and finally, after suffering enormous losses of men, and sacrificing the whole of the materiel, its truly wretched remnant was happy to re-embark for Gaul under cover of night.[4]

This invasion however exercised no influence on the manners and customs of the Belgic Cantians in the neighbourhood of Southfleet. They had sent their contingent of men to aid Caswallon in repelling the Roman legions; who, after satisfactorily performing their duties, returned to their homes rejoicing. Cæsar drew up a flaming version of his proceedings in this British campaign, which he forwarded to Rome; for he certainly possessed one advantage, viz: the art of speciously dressing and glozing his despatches, so that it may readily be credited that the Roman senate

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[4] *Dio*, fairly enough says of this expedition, that Cæsar "obtained from it nothing, either for himself, or his country, but the glory of having fought in it, and as he stated this *very powerfully*, the people at Rome wondered and extolled him." *lib.* xxxix, p. 128. *The Saxon Chronicle* says "there he (Cæsar) was first beaten in a dreadful fight, and lost part of his army. *Quintillian* (*de Orat. Dialog.* c. 17) says he met with one Aper, a Briton, who averred that he was one who fought with Caswallon against the Romans when they drove Cæsar from the Kentish shore.

were deceived, and from his representations, imagined that instead of suffering a reverse, he had achieved mighty results. "Therefore the triumphs of Rome were solemnly opened in his name, and after a proclamation, 'quod bene et feliciter rempublicam administrasset,' the people all went in procession, clothed in white garments, and crowned with garlands, and offered sacrifices, praises, and thanksgivings to the Gods for twenty days."[5]

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[5] The Cantians, however, viewed Cæsar's sudden departure after his three weeks' stay upon the coast, "because the equinox was approaching and his ships were leaky," as wholly the result of their victories; and Caswallon, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, "in joy for this triumph, returned sober thanks to the Gods, and calling the companions of his victory together, amply rewarded every one of them according as they had distinguished themselves."

"Out upon time! it will leave no more
Of the things to come than the things before!
Out upon time! who for ever will leave
But enough of the past for the future to grieve
O'er that which hath been and o'er that which must be.
What we have seen, our sons shall see:
Remnants of things that have passed away,
Fragments of stone, reared by creatures of clay!"

CHAP. VII.

CÆSAR'S SECOND INVASION.

Remember, Sir, my liege,
The Kings your ancestors; together with
The natural bravery of your isle, which stands
As Neptune's park, ribbed and paled in
With rocks unscaleable, and roaring waters;
With sands that will not bear your enemies' boats,
But suck them up to the top mast. A kind of conquest
Cæsar made here; but made not here his brag
Of *came*, and *saw*, and *overcame*: with shame
(The first that ever touch'd him) he was carried
From off our coast, twice beaten; and his shipping
(Poor ignorant baubles!) on our terrible seas,
Like egg-shells mov'd upon their surges, crack'd
As easily 'gainst our rocks." SHAKESPERE.

EXASPERATED at the ill success of his first Cantian campaign, Cæsar, immediately after his return to Gaul, directed his lieutenants to prepare a new armament for another expedition into Britain. He ordered the vessels to be constructed in a peculiar form, better adapted for conveying horses than those he had previously employed. We also gather from his details that in consequence of troubles in Kent, Mandac, or Mandubratius, the [eldest] son of Imanuentius, the cean of the Trinobantes, had been banished from his country, and revengefully sacrificing his patriotism, sought service as a spy or guide, in the Roman ranks. All arrangements being com-

pleted Cæsar in August the 18th,[6] embarked at the Portus Itius with a force of thirty-two thousand men,

[6] In the *Gent's. Mag.* for September 1846, is an account of "A Visit to the Portus Itius," from which we extract the following:— Witsand in medieval Latin is written "Guitsand." "Je trouve," says M. de Walckenaer, "qu'en 1100, Henry 1er, écrivant à Anselme, archévêque de Cantorbéry, qui était en Normandie, lui recommande de venir par Guitsande, et lui apprend qu'il l'attendra à Douvres." He refers to Ducange for ample proof that Witsand was habitually the point of embarkation for Dover between the years 529 and 1327, a period which sufficiently accounts for the Saxon appellation, and for other circumstances connected with the place. The Bay of Wissant is a solitary expanse, a curve of some seven or eight miles; the dreary sandhills take away all view inland, and the sea to us, was relieved by scarcely a single sail on the horizon. The impresssions of the naked feet of two human beings, à la Robinson Crusoe, and a group of dismal looking gulls, were all we saw, until about the centre of the bay, when a fishing boat or two, and a few idlers gave intimation of the neighbouring village. But this is exactly the sort of shore that would have been selected by the antients; it is somewhat sheltered by Cape Grisnez, and well adapted to the practice of hauling up vessels. Such a spot never failed to attract the early Greek and Roman mariner, and such I have often stopped to examine along the coasts of the Mediterranean. Such is Cumæ, where the poetical ancestor of Jul. Cæsar drew up his fleet, and first set foot on his promised land, while his unlucky pilot was washed upon a precisely similiar beach at Velia. Turning through the sandhills by an aperture made by a little brook, in about a hundred yards we found ourselves at the humble straggling hamlet of Wissant. The old entrenchment is situated five minutes' walk further on; we went there immediately, and passing though a few clover and wheat fields, resounding with the liquid notes of the quail, we ascended the mound, and stood upon the "Camp de César."— These earth-works are, however, assigned to the Saxons, because they bear a strong resemblance to the Saxon portion of the entrenchments at Dover Castle. But Cæsar's Camp, was in all probability *on the site of the present village*, that being the most convenient situation in the valley.

in eight hundred vessels, after having been wind-bound for twenty-five days.[7]

About sunset he weighed anchor and advancing with a gentle wind, continued his course till midnight, when he found himself becalmed; but the tide still urging him on, at day-break he saw Britain on his left. Again following the return of the tide, he energetically rowed to reach that part of the island he had ascertained the preceding year to be the most convenient for landing; and, on this occasion, he commends exceedingly the diligence of the soldiers, who labouring incessantly at the oar, enabled the transports to proceed as swiftly as the gallies. About noon, at the appearance of this amazing armament off the coast, the Britons, who had assembled in considerable force withdrew from the strand into the interior. Cæsar, having arrived off the same spot (Lympne) where he had encamped the preceding year,[8] uninterruptedly disembarked his forces.

Becoming acquainted with the place whither "the Britons had retired," through some prisoners he had captured[9] [?] but, what is more probable, informed by the

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[7] This wind was called CORUS, and blew from the north-west.

[8] "Once more we plant our footsteps on these shores,
And lift our eagles of dominion where
Only the far-adventuring merchant-bark
Has traded for base profit.—We are come
To win the trophies of immortal fame,
The soldier's glory and the Roman's pride.—" *Pennie.*

[9] How curious! "a littore discesserant, ac se in superiora loca abdiderant;" no battle is fought, and yet, Cæsar prevaricatingly endeavours to make it appear, that there had, in which, too, he had been victorious, for, although, he says, the Britons "had retired from the shore, and hid themselves behind the mountains;"—yet in the first line of the next section he speaks of his prisoners, "ubi ex captivis."

traitor Mandubratius of the situation of Dourwhern,—not only the largest town near the coast, but which, from being the site of a "celebrated sanctuary" was a spot almost certain to be protected or defended;—about midnight, the active and indefatigable Cæsar departed in that direction in quest of the enemy, after leaving Q. Atrius with ten cohorts and three hundred horsemen to guard his ships, which rode at anchor off a smooth and open beach, apparently secure from any danger of surprise.

After a fatiguing night march of twelve hours, Cæsar "came in sight of the British army, posted behind" the river Stour, near Chartham, "from which strong position they attacked the foe," who, desperately defended the passage of the river; "repulsed, however, by the Roman cavalry, they retired towards some woods, into a place strongly fortified by nature and art," the adits being blocked up with an abbatis of trees, which Cæsar imagined had been prepared before, on occasion of some internal civil war; "for all the avenues were secured by strong barricades of felled trees piled upon one another." Strong as this fortress was, the soldiers of the seventh legion raised an earth-work, and advancing under cover of their shields, carried the position and drove the Britons away. Cæsar forbad pursuit, the day (August 20,) being too far gone, and employed his men in rendering the entrenchment subservient to his use.

Early next morning, Cæsar prepared to assume the offensive, and having divided his army into three divisions, sent them in search of the enemy. Scarcely had the eagles approached within sight of the Britons, than

a messenger arrived from the camp on the shore, with the untoward intelligence that during the night a terrific tempest had arisen, and totally wrecked the fleet. Recalling his troops, Cæsar returned to the sea coast with his legions. The misfortune he beheld there, was great indeed; forty vessels irretrievably lost, and the remainder so injured that they appeared useless. With his characteristic energy, he set all his carpenters to work, and sent despatches to Labienus, ordering him to build in Gaul as many ships as possible. Determined, however, to suffer no more losses through his fleet continuing exposed to the action of the tides,[10] he resolved, that all the ships should be drawn upon dry land, and enclosed within a naval camp. This laborious and difficult achievement, was accomplished in ten days and nights, by the vigorous and incessant toil of the whole army.[1]

It is not our intention to follow Cæsar step by step, from the moment he landed upon the Kentish shore,

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[10] The Romans knew nothing of tidal irregularities;—and Byron truthfully says of the Mediterranean, that

> "There shrinks no ebb in that tideless sea,
> Which changeless rolls eternally,
> So that wildest of waves, in their angriest mood,
> Scarce break on the bounds of the land for a rood;
> And the powerless moon beholds them flow,
> Heedless if she come or go:
> Calm or high, in main or bay,
> On their course she hath no sway.
> The rock unworn its base doth bare,
> And looks o'er the surf, but it comes not there;
> And the fringe of the foam may be seen below
> On the line that is left long ages ago:
> A smooth short space of yellow sand
> Between it and the greener land. *Siege of Corinth.*

[1] Cæsar says, § 9, "Ten days (dies x consumit) were spent in the service, during which the soldiers had no intermission of fatigue, *not even in the night.*"

we will therefore content ourselves with indicating his route by briefly enumerating the modern names of the parishes he passed through, adding a few topographical comments; thus,—after landing at Lympne, he proceeded to Dourwhern ; there he received the account of that destruction of his vessels, which he has been pleased to attribute to the effects of a storm! Instead of a storm, it was really an attack by the British fleet, which had just recovered from the mishaps it had sustained whilst aiding the Veneti. A storm? Truly! Why if it had been a stormy night, it would have had some effect upon his land operations ; and as he is apparently minutely explicit in his relation of non-important matters, he would hardly have omitted to record such a casualty. The truth in fact is, that his gallies being propelled by banks of oars, outstripped the slower sailing British vessels, precisely as fast steam vessels beat men-of-war ; but when the tug of battle, and the trial of strength between the two came off, the lightly built Roman gallies were found no better able to cope with the heavier and better navigated British vessels, than they had been off the coast of Armorica with the Veneti. The weakest were therefore driven upon the shore, and it was only by the rapid retrogression of the Roman army, that Cæsar was at all enabled to wrest, even the remnants of his transports, from his determined foemen. The only safe method left him to adopt, was to draw the fragments into a land camp, and this took his whole force, after incredible labour, ten days. It cannot be imagined that even this was readily permitted by the Britons; on the contrary, they harassed him by every means in their power, alike by day and night.

Having thus secured his fleet, he left it in the beginning of September, under the same guard as before, and again proceeded into the interior in search of Caswallon, who had employed the interval in strengthening the confederacy, and increasing his army. During his march along the great British trackway to Dourwhern, the British cavalry, supported by their chariots, daringly attacked the Roman horse, who, to protect the infantry, had repeatedly to make sorties from their direct course.

At length the hostile armies approached each other, when the British cavalry, being assisted by their chariots, after some skirmishing vigorously attacked the Roman cavalry. Pretending to be repulsed, they out-manœuvred the Romans by the feint, who consequently received a serious check. Afterwards sallying from another point on the wearied soldiers, whilst intent upon the construction of a night encampment, and utterly destroyed the advance guard. Cæsar sent the two first cohorts of one of the legions to their aid. (These[2] were not only more numerous than the others, but usually consisted of the bravest men.) The Britons charged them in small bodies, broke through their ranks and routed them, ere they recovered from the panic in which they had been thrown at so novel a mode of fighting, and then retired without loss. Quintus Laberius Durus, a military tribune, was slain; and but for the opportune arrival of some fresh cohorts, the conflict would have terminated in the utter defeat of the Roman forces. Cæsar, his own despatch writer, is

[2] Vegetius, lib. ii. c. 6,

here very obscure; and by a confused narration, endeavours to make it appear that the major part of his army was not completely beaten. The battle having been fought within sight of the camp, consequently, that portion of the Roman army which had not been engaged, were spectators; who, then, Cæsar acknowledges, perceived that the legionary soldiers were too heavily armed[2] to combat with any chance of success the agile Britons. Besides, the peculiar discipline of the Romans was adverse to their departure from their eagles; whilst the Britons never fought in a body, but hovering about in small detached parties, so skilfully placed, that fresh supplies were easily and without risk, added to assist an attack.

The next day, Cæsar fancied that the Britons were

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[2]The load which a Roman soldier carried is almost incredible;—victuals for fifteen days, sometimes more, (usually corn as being lightest, sometimes dressed food,) utensils, a saw, a bucket, a mattock, an axe, a hook, a leathern thong, a chain, a pot, &c.; stakes, (usually three or four, sometimes twelve); the whole amounting to sixty pounds weight, besides arms; for a Roman soldier considered these not a burthen, but as a part of himself, arma membra milites ducebant. (*Cic. Tusc.* ii. 16.) When the Romans had arrived at the spot selected for an encampment, some tribunes and centurions called metatores, marked out the ground, and assigned the various proper quarters, which they did by erecting flags of different colours, in the several parts. The place for the general's tent was marked with a white flag; and when it was once known, the places of the rest followed of course. When the main part of the troops came up, they immediately set about making a rampart and ditch, while part of the army usually kept guard to prevent surprise. The camp was always marked out in the same manner, and fortified, if it was only to be occupied for a single night.

rather more fearful of encountering his legions; because he says, they stationed themselves far off upon the hills, and appeared but sparingly, not skirmishing with the Roman horse as heretofore. So about noon, Cæsar sent out three legions and all the cavalry under the command of C. Trebonius, to forage. Hardly had they commenced plundering, than the Britons furiously attacked them at every quarter; and Cæsar, quite astonished at their effrontery, naïvely says "they even attacked the legions and standards." The Roman legions, now finding that

"They must do or die,"

returned to the charge, and repulsed them; and the cavalry, finding themselves supported by the infantry, fought so desperately, that they made a great slaughter amongst the Britons, "and continued the pursuit till they had utterly broken them, insomuch that great numbers being slain, they could neither find an opportunity to rally, descend from their chariots, or face about to make resistance."

We agree with Cozens, Hasted, Dr. Plot, and the Rev. Mr. Harris, that the spot where Quintus Laberius Durus was slain, was CHARTHAM DOWNS.

Canterbury was then a town of magnitude, of which the Dûn John is an imperishable record. Dûn is a Celtic word, signifying a "height." The final syllable is expressive of a *fortification*, rendering the whole word *the fortified mound* or *height*. It was erected by the Belgæ after their seizure of the eastern part of Kent, to keep the aborigines in subjection.

The antient name of this metropolitical city was Dourwhern, the etymology of which is derived from

the word Dour, a swift river, and Vern, a sanctuary. The site of the British town was on the heights near St. Martin's Church. The Romans, when latinizing or adapting the British words to their own pronunciation, naturally transformed the name of the town into Durovernum, because they lengthened the sound, by way of paraphrase, upon the gutturals of the natives: thus, Dourwhern, Durovernum.

But we most decidedly differ with those learned antiquaries as to the route by which Cæsar marched to it;—unfortunately, they took Halley for their guide, and adopted his theories, that "Cæsar first made Dover, and then landed at Deal," forgetting, or at least, not admitting, that the Kentish coast had undergone, nay, is even now undergoing, material alterations from the action of the sea, in despite of the skill of our most talented engineers.

Such, however, was not the case, as we have previously stated. The land Cæsar first made was FOLKSTONE,[3] and his disembarkation was at

LYMPNE.

Guided by Mandubratius, he next proceeded by the road, now bearing the name of "Stone Street," (which, in after years, was quite straitened by the Romans,) through the parishes at present called

STOWTING;
ELMSTEAD;
THANINGTON to
DOURWHERN or CANTERBURY.

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[3] Vide Map in the Report of the Proceedings of the British Archæological Assoication at the Canterbury Congress.

Cæsar's line of march was thence through the following places. The route is far from being straight; but then, we must recollect, that the British roads had been constructed by a commercial race, and were not so undeviating as those the Romans afterwards altered in accordance with their military views, but were continually diverging to the densely populated British towns—(then so numerous in both East and West Kent)—besides, they were formed to skirt the chain of hills, agreeably to the tastes of the natives. Much of the old trackway used by Cæsar, is still in existence, as may be perceived by refering to a map of the county.

WYE.

CHARING.

LENHAM.

HARRIETSHAM.

HUCKING.

DEBTLING.

In the parish of Debtling, a few years since, some entrenched embankments were discovered near Bredhurst. They formed almost a square, with a double vallum on the north side. This was probably the spot Cæsar selected for his encampment the night before he forced the passage of

THE FORD OF THE MEDWAY, or TAM YS [TAMESIS;]

Unconfined by barriers, the Medway then spread over the whole of the valley, being only fordable, with difficulty, at one place. To render this ford more dangerous, the Britons had driven sharp stakes into the bed of the river, and strongly entrenched themselves

on the opposite bank. But on this occasion, all the strategetical science and skill of Caswallon and the bravery of his men, were unable to repel the Romish legions, so that Cæsar, after a most[4] sanguinary engagement succeeded in landing on the western side.[5]

HIGHAM.

Cæsar says, that during the preceding marches, the Trinobantes sent ambassadors to solicit peace, which he granted them, on condition that they accepted Mandubratius, for their cean. Immediately after this traitor to his country had received the reward of his treachery, he sent Cæsar supplies of corn, which plainly shows that the "Trinobantes" could not have been far distant from the invading forces; and that their "state" comprised the present Hundred of Hoo.[6]

THONG.

In 1825, some labourers whilst grubbing up a piece of Clay Lane Wood, in the parish of Thong, came upon an intrenchment, in the centre of which, they desepelated three waggon-loads of human bones, mingled with leather, many metal celts, spear heads and armour, the latter in such perfect preservation, that a suit was actually put on by one of the labourers, who is now

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[4] A Brass coin of Comius, the commander of Cæsar's cavalry was found in a tumulus near the British town above Kits Coty House. *See Kentish Chron.* and an impres. *Arch. Jl.* i, 302.

[5] *Tam Ys* two Celtic words—in English, *winding river*. *Ys*, gives also *Isis*, the classical name of the present "Thames"—which, again, gives Tamesis.

[6] Interim Trinobantes, prope firmissima earum regionum civitas, etc. The Celtic word *Trinobantes* translated into English, is *powerful people*.

(1847) living. The bones were collected and thrown into the surrounding fosse, the earth which composed the vallum was then thrown over them, and the soil levelled. The celts, several portions of the armour, and pieces of the weapons are preserved in the museum of William Crafter, esq., of Gravesend. The armour was taken to Cobham hall by the finders, who expected a handsome reward for their pains; but the then noble owner, being no archaeologist, ordered the men some refreshment, and told them "to take their rubbish away." After this rebuff, and knowing no collectors of antiquities, they sorted out the metal, and after breaking it in pieces, sold it to Mr. Troughton, (lately Mayor of Gravesend,) who consigned it to the melting pot. So bright was the metal, that one of the celts was actually tested by fire to see if it was not gold, and it still bears the marks of this ill-usage. The discovery of these relics, Roman and British, mingled together, clearly demonstrates that here an engagement took place, and that Thong was in Cæsar's line of march, because we know that the Romans, under Aulus Plautius, occupied this part of the county without opposition. The mass of osseous fragments and British weapons with Roman armour, incontestibly prove, that after the battle, the slain were indiscriminately interred. Here, too, Cæsar awaited and received the supplies of corn and the hostages furnished him by the Trinobantes.

Following the road, Cæsar marched to the British town on

WINGFIELD-BANK,

and, for the refreshment of his troops, halted at the

only spring of fresh water they had passed since they left the Medway.

After reducing this large hill city,[7] Cæsar encamped upon the spot now known as

COL ARBHAR,[8]

in the parish of Northfleet, an eminence overlooking Springhead. The following morning he crossed the valley, which on the western side was very woody. From the well-known bravery of the Druid priesthood, and their possession of a School and accompanying Sacred Groves, on the heights, now called Highfield, it can hardly be supposed otherwise than that he was here necessitated to fight a battle, which, probably detained him till the ensuing day, and compelled him to encamp in the magnificent earthworks still remaining, in

STONE PARK WOOD.

This camp consists of three nearly oval valla and fosses, even now in places eight feet high. In a subsequent invasion by the Danes, this camp was altered by that people in accordance with their views of castrametation. At the northernmost extremity of the wood, near the church of Swanscombe, on Mr. Russell's farm, also still exists a mighty tumulus, called

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[7] The primeval cities in this island were built on heights, similar to the "hill cities" in the East. "In Palestine, the land of the Phœnicians, we read of numerous fenced cities on the tops of mountains. 'Now therefore give me,' said Caleb to Joshua, 'the mountain whereof the Lord spake in that day, for thou heardest in that day how the Anakims were there, and that the cities were great and fenced.'"

[8] *Col Arbhar* Celtic—*an eminence*, or *height*,—*a camp*, English.

"the Folly." The etymology of this word is evidently Celtic, and the final syllable is most probably a corruption of the word *low*, a barrow.

From thence Cæsar marched to the

FORD OF THE DARENT,

The river not being embanked, spread over the entire valley, rendering it a dangerous swamp, only fordable in certain places when the tide was down. Within the last four years two fine celts, one of flint the other of bronze, have been discovered near the Dartford Gunpowder works, adjacent to the spot where we consider the river to have been crossed.

The next point to which the invader can be traced, is

COL ARBHAR, SUTTON-AT-HONE,

where Cæsar encamped the night previously to his last and greatest battle in this island, when he attacked Caswallon's capital, which was situated in the high lands between the rivers Darent and the Cray. Cæsar describes Caswallon as possessed of a province "Cujus fines a maritimis, civitatibus flumen dividit, quod appellatur Tamesis, a mari circiter millia passuum lxxx." Cæsar was of course anxious in his despatches to Rome, to make the most of his invasion, and so we readily credit was not very particular about the final xxx's, because, according to the route we have conducted Cæsar, the distance will not be more than seventy miles. Cæsar certainly might have included the whole distance he had traversed, and not taken it in a direct line from the coast. Nor is it in the least degree improbable that Cæsar might have marched eighty miles, as we well know that the old British trackways were not so straight as the subsequently reformed Roman roads.

Agreeably to his preliminary arrangements, Cæsar attacked in two places the town of Caswallon. The Britons, owing to superiority of discipline were forced to retreat to another part of the town, "ex aliâ parte oppidi." This part was probably Cawden's wood, the most western part of the same town—or else it was Stankey, its most northern point. By either way, the Britons had other towns to fall back upon. We are the more inclined to give the preference to the western, because then, supposing the Romans had still further advanced into the country, they would have had a most difficult march over the marshes and morasses of the Cray; and Caswallon's four thousand chariots would again have been employed to harass the wearied legions. In Cawden's wood still remain an immense number of subterranean residences or store houses in triples, a full account of which will be found in John Dunkin's History of Dartford.

According to Cæsar, the spoils of war of the city consisted of vast numbers of cattle, "magnus ibi numerus pecoris repertus," together with many prisoners.

After the successful storming of this town, Cæsar felt himself compelled to retreat, on account of a confederacy of chiefs having been formed in his rear, which threatened the destruction of his naval camp and vessels. Cæsar tries to explain away this serious affair, by the following brief incidental allusion: "while these things passed beyond the river Tamesis (i.e. the Medway,) Caswallon dispatched messengers to [that part of] Kent, which was situated along the sea coast. Its governors were four ceans—Cingetorix, Carnilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax. Obediently to Caswallon's

orders, they directly drew their forces together, and attacked theRomans naval camp." In this onslaught the Britons lost their leader, Cingetorix. The Romans might have been victorious, but it is an inference we question, because Cæsar then says, he was now compelled "to retrace his steps" and like the year before, was in such haste to embark his men that he crammed them all "necessario angustius milites collocavit," into what ships he had, and sailed away at ten o'clock at night, after "inflicting a tribute" (?) upon the unconquered islanders.

How the assertion that "the Britons were unacquainted with the use of money," could have found supporters is astonishing. Cæsar asserts, he "demanded a tribute" and hostages for the good behaviour of the Britons to his traitor friends;—now, it is hardly probable he would have written such a sentence, had they not possessed and known the use of money and moreover coined it for themselves.

The Rev. Beale Post says, the resemblance of the British and Gaulish coins to Grecian coins, particularly those of Macedon, cannot be much wondered at, it being considered that Marseilles was founded by a colony of Phoceans from Asia Minor, and that a great commercial intercourse was maintained between that city and the different parts of the Mediterranean. As Britain was, however in a higher state of civilization than Gaul, it is not improbable that the coins indiscriminately termed British or Gaulish were all struck in Britain.

In C. R. Smith's Collectanea Antiqua, pl. 16, are etched some unique British coins of this era—figs. 9 and 10 were found in Mr. Colyer's field, not far from the now-dried up original sources of the spring, at Springhead.

CHAP. VIII.

CONQUEST OF THE COUNTY, AND FOUNDING OF THE ROMAN TOWN IN THE SPRINGHEAD VALLEY.

"Opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat."—CIC.

FROM the day Cæsar ignominiously fled from Britain, the possession of the island became the darling desire of the Romans. Even under the peaceful policy of Augustus, the court poets evince by their oft-recurring allusions to the theme, the intense anxiety felt amongst all classes for its conquest. But nearly a century elapsed ere another invasion was resolutely undertaken, for the succeeding Cæsars, either engaged in the pursuit of pleasure, or in the exercise of tyranny, dreaded the difficult task and preferred deferring it to an indefinite period.

Claudius, the most conceited of a family notorious for being the vilest race of miscreants the earth has ever known, having been unexpectedly elevated to the imperial dignity by the pretorian guards, determined A.D. 43, to exhibit his soldierly skill and gratify the military passions of the people by an headlong plunge into a popular war. The non-payment of a tribute,

the islanders sternly denied ever having promised, formed the casus belli. To make nearly certain of the issue of the contest, Claudius collected for the invading army, the flower of the Roman troops, actually weakening the force guarding the Germanic frontier by heavy draughts of men and officers ;—amongst the latter, were Vespasian (afterwards emperor,) and his brother. To Aulus Plautius who had been Consul Suffectus, A.D. 29, he gave the chief command.

Although the British chiefs were aware of the great armament collecting upon the continent for their subjugation, they nevertheless, continued quarrelling amongst themselves, and neglected making preparations to repel the invasion. They formed no confederacy, elected no commander-in-chief, nor assembled any forces to guard the coast.

Consequently Aulus Plautius was enabled to disembark his forces near LYMPNE, without opposition, and then he marched by the same route as his predecessor, Julius Cæsar, to

DOURWHERN, or CANTERBURY, and subsequently to

THE FORD OF THE MEDWAY, or TAM YS ;

after crossing the river, he encamped at a spot known as

COL ARBHAR,

and thence, guided by Beril, a British prince who had been exiled for treasonous practices, by a road, which skirted the line of hills, through the parishes now called

LEYBOURNE ;

ADDINGTON ;

WROTHAM ; and

KEMSING ;

Where he descended into

THE VALLEY OF HOLMESDALE,

and found a British army strongly entrenched on the north-western side of the river Darent, on

MARAM'S COURT HILL,

facing the villages now termed

OTFORD and SHOREHAM.

Thence, after a bloody combat, he marched to

HOLWOOD,

where he temporarily encamped, and the following day, keeping on the eastern side of the river Ravensbourne, he arrived at the banks of the Thames, which he crossed between London and Woolwich. Almost immediately after his passage of the unembanked river, he was fiercely attacked by the natives, who gave him a severe check. Finding his forces insufficient to reduce the foe to subjection, he determined, agreeably to previous arrangements, to acquaint Claudius of the difficulties of his position, and apply for the presence of the emperor in person with reinforcements. Thereupon, he returned to Holwood, where he strongly fortified himself in a camp adjacent to the Source of the Ravensbourne, the lofty valla and deep fosses of which partly exist, and there awaited the arrival of Claudius.

The reinforcements brought over by the emperor, according to Zonaras, vastly exceeded the army in Britain, which appears to have been already double consular, giving, Beale Post says, a force of 52,000 men. It is therefore evident that after the departure of Claudius, there remained upwards of 104,000 men to pursue the conquest. Verily, every circumstance tends to prove the high state of civilization to which the the Britons had arrived.

From their results to the neighbourhood of Springhead, two of the most important acts, of the talented Aulus Plautius, during his stay in Britain, were his conversion of the British ship-building-yard[9] on the western side of the channel of the Ebbs, into Roman navalia, and the re-construction of one of the great British trackways, into a via militaris, from the ports of Richborough, Portus Lemanis (Lympne,) and Dubris (Dover,) to a grand junction at Durovernum (Canterbury,) and thence into the interior. The brief period he remained in the island prevented him, however, from little more than commencing the mighty works his genius conceived, and his successors completed.

Whilst awaiting the advent of the emperor, Aulus Plautius made a survey of the county he was occupying, and conceived the project of converting a portion of the circuitous trackway on which he had marched, into a straight military road. Having matured the plan, he commenced a re-formation of the road, and employed his soldiers upon it, until the campaign in Essex was resumed after the landing of Claudius with the reinforcements. The emperor however, soon became weary of the fatigues of war, and after, Suetonius says sixteen days stay in Britain, he returned to Rome, to Plautius the task of conquering the natives!

The lesson he had learned in the first campaign not only taught him that the natives possessed the inclination, but the requisite abilities to successfully engage

[9] When constructing the railway below Springhead, in 1847, it was proved that the bottom of the bed of the estuary was ten feet below the present sward.

and combat the Roman legions; it had also proved to him the necessity of having strong-holds in his rear—for experience had shown him that, had he not been well entrenched at Holwood, he could not have maintained his position in Britain until the arrival of Claudius. After therefore, the departure of the emperor, before he attempted further operations in the interior, he carefully surveyed and fortified the Kentish coast, probably commencing with Richborough castle, to protect the Portus Rutupia, followed at the latter end of the year by the establishment of military works at Portus Dubris, supported by a similiar undertaking at the Portus Lemanis. He also proceeded rapidly with the alterations he had commenced in the British track-way, called the "Watling-street," which he now made perfectly straight through the county from Canterbury for the purpose of conveying to the seat of war the supplies and *materiel* he drew from the continent.[1]

Pillars were erected along these roads with figures cut upon them,—to mark the distances from station to station.—the origin of our present mile-stones. One of these milliares was dug up in Barque fields, during the last century, with the letter X deeply engraven. It was presented to Edward Hasted, esq., the historian of Kent, and remained at his seat, "the Commandery of St. John's," Sutton, till John Mumford, who subse-

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[1] Sidonius Apollinaris, says :

> Antiquus tibi nec teratur agger,
> Cujus per spatium satis vetustis
> Nomen Cæsareum viret columnis.
>
> Nor let the antient causey be defac'd
> Where, in old pillars, Cæsar's name express'd.

quently occupied[2] the premises, presented it to the Rev. Peter Rashleigh, in whose son's court-yard it is still [1847], carefully preserved.

During the construction of the road, the advantages possessed by the valley of the Ebbs, became too apparent to be lightly regarded. Aulus Plautius accordingly resolved to adapt the British settlement to Roman purposes, and convert the docks of the natives into Roman navalia. Acting upon the advice of Scribonius, the favorite medical attendant of the emperor, the Romans were induced to vary the principles on which they had previously acted in choosing sites for stations[3] and camps, and instead of selecting heights,

[2] COMMANDERY OF ST. JOHN'S, SUTTON-AT-HONE.

[3] HOW THE ROMANS SET TO WORK TO BUILD A CITY. Great circumspection was used in the choice of a site for a city, and one of the methods adopted, previously even to the forming of an encampment, was the institution of religious rites, when the livers of the victims sacrificed were carefully examined, and if they were diseased, others were subjected to the same test, in order to prove whether the unhealthy appearance resulted from accident. If the greater number of experiments proved healthy, it was considered that the water and soil were salubrious. When the external walls were built, the next object was the best means of disposing of the area between them; the streets were set out to exclude winds injurious to comfort, and all the sewers and drains were well consi-

to prefer the morassy hollows of valleys. This fashionable court physician also suggested the erection of rough wooden buildings for baths, or thermæ, for the use of the legions. The seizure of the ship-building-yard must have been regarded as a most valuable prize, for the Romans, from the days of Augustus, had been anxious to possess a fleet, and this desire was now in a fair way for being accomplished.

It seems an anomaly that Italy, almost surrounded by the Mediterranean, should not early have assumed a high rank in the creation and maintenance of a navy. But the ambition of her warrior sons appears to have been confined to land exploits, "and the ocean existed as an object of fear rather than curiosity."

During the succeeding twenty years, although the Roman arms in the west and north experienced vast vicissitudes, and at times merited sufferings, yet the city on the banks of the Ebbs continued increasing in magnitude and absorbing the natives of the neighbourhood from their locations. The continual passage through it of masses of recruits and materiel direct

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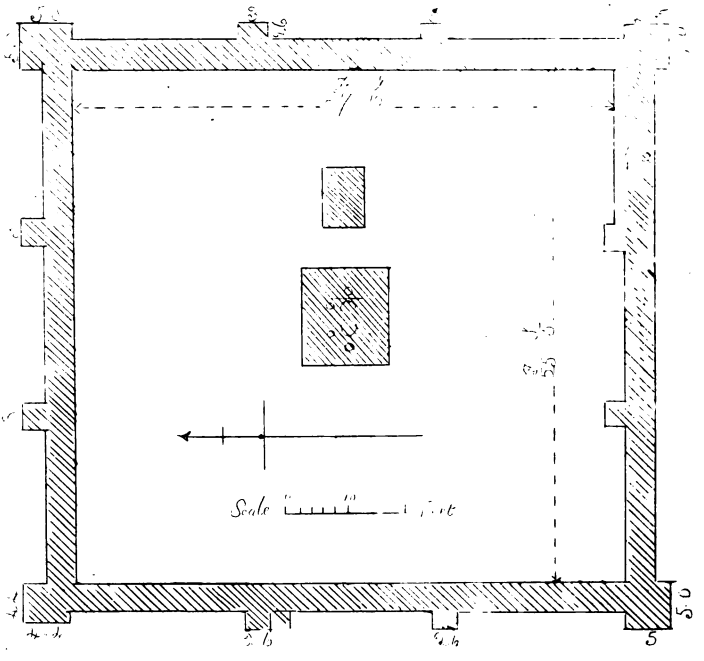
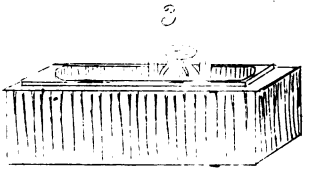
dered. Their public buildings were established in convenient quarters, and their foundations made adequate to bear the weight placed upon them. Laws were established which prevented individuals from doing anything which would interfere with the public health health or enjoyment. These were the first and chief considerations. *Evidence of Edward Cresy, sen. esq., before the Health of Towns Commission.* In their application of water the Romans were most wasteful. Rome, in its palmiest days, through the lavish magnificence of the emperors, at the minimum possessed fourteen aqueducts, or as others count them twenty. Of this number three only at the present time are found amply sufficient for the wants of the modern Romans.—*Eustace*, v. 2.

from Rome to feed the waste attendant on the harrassing war in the interior, necessarily tended to its advantage particularly as the camp at BLACK SOLES, in Stone parish, was used in connexion with Spring-head, as a "resting place" for the men to recover from the fatigue they had undergone travelling to the island, ere they were sent on active service. The admirable situation for commerce of the newly founded town; its easy distance from London, already an important place; sheltered harbour; agricultural advantages; docks; the healing waters of its thermal springs, combined with other conveniences, rendering it a considerable mart for trade.—Magnificent and highly embellished mansions built of bricks, flints, and timber sprang up in every part of the town. So lavish were the architects in gorgeous decorations of the houses generally in Britain, that Tacitus assigns it as one of the principal causes of the Boduan insurrection. He says, "The Romans wasted the resources at their command, in useless embellishments, instead of fortifying and placing the subjugated provinces in a state of defence." Considering the uncertain tenure by which the Romans held the portions of Britain they occupied, it shews how infatuatedly wedded they were to ornaments and frippery.

To compensate the Cantii for the loss of liberty and the pride of independence, the Romans offered in exchange, their luxurious habits, arts and elegancies. The conciliatory bait was palatable to the Kentish youth, who eagerly swallowed it, and thenceforward became reconciled to their fate.

Very different indeed was the scene, from that which now meets the eye; instead of an important town, we





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look upon corn fields, under whose surface alone can be met with the foundations, and other interesting, though scanty remains of a vast population, whose ability and power have long ceased to be exerted for good or evil.

The superior nature of the clay in the outskirts of the town was early remarked, and a pottery was consequently established. In after years, this pottery became a most extensive establishment, a fact evidenced by the endless varieties of elegant, yet useful, fictile vessels and urnæ, portions of which are daily discovered. In the still-called TILER'S FIELD, was a *tegularium*, or tile-manufactory. The agriculturists have repeatedly marvelled at the astonishing quantities of thick baked and unbaked broken tiles their coulters have exposed. Adjacent to the navalia was situated the manufactory for querns or hand-mills. Within the last few years two perfect ones (vide etching.) and very many pieces have been picked up; one of the former in most perfect condition, exhibiting the denticulated surface which triturated the corn. The pebbles used in their manufacture, were collected from the adjacent fields, but the ingredients and composition of the cement which bound them together is utterly unknown. These querns were used by the slaves to grind corn, for water mills were not invented till the reign of Augustus. (Vide Greek Epigram, by Antipater, who celebrates it as a new invention.—*Athol. Cephalæ.* 653.) It was not only the work of slaves, but the hardest work, and often inflicted on them as a severe punishment.

"Molendum in pistrino, vapulandum, habendæ compedes."
Ter. Phor. ii. 1. 19.

"Hominem pistrino dignum."—*Id. Heaut*, iii. 2, 10.

CHAP. IX.

THE ROMAN TOWN—SPRINGHEAD.

"Mind creates and re-creates,
Bids cities, long destroyed, resume
Their pomp of pride, and all life's stir,
Then leaves them once more to their doom
Engulphed in Time's vast sepulchre." KEANE.

JULIUS Frontinus succeeded Suetonius in the command of the Roman forces in Britain, A.D. 75-8, and not only added some defences to the rising town, but commenced the construction of the pharos, on the north-eastern heights, to command the entrance of the estuary.

During the mild and equitable sway of Agricola, (the next pro-consul,) the town experienced vast improvements. The sheds erected at the suggestion of Scribonius over the most clear and translucent waters in the county, gave place to shady piazzas and luxurious baths;—parts of the remains of which were laid bare in 1814, and now form a foundation for the lodge at the entrance of the grounds.

The thermæ constructed at Springhead, were upon a similar model to those in "Rome, the Imperial City". They stood among beautiful gardens; nearly, if not wholly, surrounded with lofty walls, composed of flint and stone, the foundations of which still exist, partly in grounds belonging to Edward Colyer, esq., and Mr.

Brenchley. The foundation-flints were set in clay and afterwards built up with lime mortar. The Roman lime is of browner hue than that of the present day. The road which crosses the current, from the "head" spring, (which rises in the hollows on the west side of the road,[1]) was doubtless the original way or via which led to these thermæ and the navalia, after a divergence from the Watling street. The Britons rapidly appreciated the luxuries of their corrupted masters and eagerly emulated their proceedings. Apt scholars in vice, they followed in the track, and adopted amongst other practices, the use of the thermæ.—Upon entering which, they hired persons termed capsarii to attend to their habiliments. Then they proceeded into the unctuarium, where they were anointed. Adjoining, was the elæothesium, an heated apartment, in which were preserved the purest odoriferous unguents for anointing the bather, after the performance of the tedious process. Every choice perfume, apician tastes could conceive were here to be obtained, and with them, delicate, soft-handed officiating male and female assistants, called unctores. The bathers, after being anointed, passed into a heated room called the sphæristerium, where they amused themselves with gymnastic exercises;—they thence adjourned into a room still more heated, where the primal ablution was made; here they sat in a baptisterium, below the surface of the water, and their attendants scraped them with strigils, one of

[1] Information of W. Crafter, esq., chief of the Ordnance department, Gravesend Fort,—who remembers the spot before the grounds underwent alteration.

which, in bone, was picked up in 1842, on Tiler's Hill.[5] From this apartment they passed into another, where they completed the bath; then the aliptæ entered with towels and rubbing cloths. After them the metores, with oils, or unguents, which were then applied to the body from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet. It is doubtless, owing to these baths, says Mr. Crafter, that such vast quantities of fibulæ and pins, (vide pl. ii.,) have been exposed in Springhead gardens.

Until the death of Constantine, which occurred in the year 337, the town on the Ebbsfleet progressively increased in importance. A. D., 367, the Saxons, the most ferocious depredators that ever chose the waters for a home, sailed up the river Thames to London, and after pillaging it, carried off its inhabitants for slaves. In this predatory excursion, the town on the Ebbsfleet was partially destroyed. From this disaster it however soon recovered. Its principal ornaments at this period, were probably the baths, the markets, the temples of the Sun and of Esculapius, the palace of the Roman governor, and, perhaps, the country residence of Nectaridus the "Comes Saxonici Littoris" who was slain in 368. The dwellings of the commonalty and middle classes were principally built of wood on foundations of flint, or of alternate layers of tile and flint; interspersed with buildings or cottages of earth or clay, well moistened with water, mixed or beat up with the straw to make the parts cohere, and dried[6] only in the

[5] G. P. Wollaston, esq. of Eltham, has a beautiful seal picked up near this spot, about the same time. Impression, a winged horse.

[6] The Bustum opened in 1845, upon which a paper was read at the British Archæological Association, Winchester, developed an outer urn made of clay in the manner described above.—Vide *Report of the Proceedings.*

sun. The public buildings were in such a style of magnificence as became a town of its size, (see pl vi.) For the whole of the traffic from the continent continued to traverse it;—and, independently of its attractions as a fashionable watering place,[7] the noble estuary by which it was bounded upon the north, was rarely without government vessels of war in commission, as cruizers, to protect the merchants' ships from the myriads of pirates that swarmed upon the seas. These combined circumstances alike tended to increase its celebrity, stability and importance; and trade, consequently, crowded its harbours and markets. The ships of war were commanded by an officer of high rank, who was styled "Archigubernis Classis Brit." or High Admiral of the British Fleet, whose duties occasionally compelled him to dwell in the neighbourhood; where also resided, in elegantly adorned villas, many of the opulent merchants whose capacious storehouses and wharves adjoined the docks. An evidence of the wealth and luxurious habits of its inhabitants is clearly exhibited in the curious discoveries made in 1801, in Sole Field, described in the Archæologia by the Rev. Peter Rashleigh; and since cremation generally ceased after the close of the second century, it is probable that we may be correct in assigning the date of the mortuary deposit to that period.

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[7] In fact, the city on the banks of the Ebbsfleet, was in the third century to London, what Gravesend is, in the nineteenth. And should the reader be curious as to the condition of the Roman city present day—it is now a favorite resort where Gravesenders and Londoners flock to regale themselves with the fine water-cresses and strawberries for which the grounds are so deservedly celebrated.

The total destruction of the town, did not, however, occur till the commencement of the fifth century, when an adventurer, named Constantine, was raised to the command solely from the prestige attached to his name. But although he proved himself worthy of the appointment, unfortuately for Britain he was an ambitious man, and not satisfied with its sway, endeavoured to include Spain and Gaul in his rule. To accomplish this end, he raised a vast army, and, sanctioned by Honorius, attempted their conquest. Profiting by his absence, torrents of Saxons poured into Britain. The wretched islanders were not only harried with these marauding hordes, but were harassed beyond measure at the perpetual vexatious levies and taxes required to sustain the detested foreign invasions. At length, oppressed beyond endurance by the licentious and avaricious publicans, the Britons rose and entirely threw off the Roman domination, [A.D. 410,] and in its stead, for many a long year, drained to the dregs the bitter cup of civil dissensions.

During this period, one of the piratical bands of the Saxons, stimulated by rapine, having repelled the feeble resistance the inhabitants were able to offer, made good their landing at the town on the Ebbsfleet; and, after an unrelenting slaughter of its unhappy defenders, in the true spirit of barbarism, fired the town. The innumerable wooden buildings of the plebeian population crowded in close and narrow streets, supplied ample fuel for the flames, and the conflagration only ceased when the destruction of the city was completed. It is much to be regretted that the memory of the champions engaged in the defence of this ill-starred town should

be wrapped in oblivion—sharing precisely the fate of its nomenclature.

Fire having done its worst to the town, its antagonist element, shortly afterwards, to consummate the devastation of the spot, burst its barriers, and drowned the crops upon the plains of the adjoining country. For the ruin of the docks included that of the gates and embankments, which, till then, had restrained the Thames from inundating the valley, an event of frequent occurrence before their construction. The total destruction of the town, combined with the gradual depopulation creeping over the face of the land, consequent upon the drain, incidental to civil dissensions and foreign wars, aided perhaps by superstitious notions prevalent in the minds of the lower orders (with regard to the fall of the Druid Groves), prevented the wretched survivors of the Saxon foray resuming their ruined patrimonies, and no attempt was made at re-settlement. The artificial restrictions having disappeared—the continual washing of the uncontrolled waters upon the unconsumed walls of the temples and public buildings, soon undermined them, so that after a few centuries of exposure to the action of the atmosphere, all sank into the miasmatic morass, which thenceforward became only the resort of the otter and the heron. Thus perished the town in the valley, after an existence of almost four centuries.

CHAP. X.

SPRINGHEAD.

" Nations arose and nations fell.
The tale is old, but the event
Confirm'd by dreadful monument." Hogg.

OUR readers may be gratified to have presented to their notice, SOME ACCOUNT OF THE SECOND RISE OF SPRINGHEAD, from an unwholesome swamp into a fashionable place of resort, after a lapse of almost fourteen hundred years.

Thorpe, in the Custumale Roffense, says, in the lands adjoining Springhead, now called Bark (Barque) Fields a great number of Roman coins, some of silver, and many of copper, have at times been turned up by the plough. The late Mr. Landon, who was rector of Nursted and Ifield, and many years curate of Southfleet, where he resided, had several: one was of the Empress Faustina, very fair, in silver. Mr. Pedder, a farmer, also, (1788), who then occupied the fields had likewise many of these coins in his possession; as had one Mr. Lane, who kept a public-house in Betsome. Mr. Landon also informed Mr. Thorpe that parched corn, (as wheat, &c.,) had been dug up where the coins were found, which shews that fire was the cause of the destruction of the town. Mr. Landon writes—" where the coins were found, some few years since, was discovered

a fair mile-stone[8] It stood upright in the ground with its crown four or five inches below the surface. I measured it soon after it was dug up. It was two feet and a half long: two of its sides were sixteen inches each, the other fourteen: its corners were chiselled, bnt its faces were very rustic; upon one of the sides was a very fair X cut." "In Barque Lands, in Southfleet, two small silver pieces were lately found. Upon one of them there is a very fine and bold profile of a woman's head, with Plautilla round it, very plainly to be read." &c. &c.

Tradition records, that many anchors were found during the past century, in the "Salt Marshes" of Swanscombe.

In "Sole Field" in the parish of Southfleet, at the close of the last century, [A.D. 1799,] some discoveries were made, and the Rev. P. Rashleigh transmitted the following account to the Society of Antiquaries:

"Southfleet, Jan. 1, 1800. A few days ago, as some men were ploughing in a field, in this parish, they perceived one of their horses feet sink in the ground, which, upon examination, proved to be in the mouth of an urn; fortunately the horse did not break it, and the men dug it up; they examined its contents, and finding no coins, but that what it contained consisted of some burnt bones and pieces of broken glass of a bluish colour and very thick, they threw them again in the hole and covered them up, bringing the urn home, which is now in my possession. It is of the rudest form, nearly spherical,[9] of very strong red pottery, and contains twenty gallons, it has formerly had something resembling a handle, as two pieces remain one on each side of the mouth; it was covered with a very thick tile, and has, from its very rude form the appear-

[8] This mile-stone, Hasted mentions, he removed to his own residence, St. John's, the erst Commandry of the Knights Hospitallers.

[9] Now in the British Museum.—Pl. viii, fig. 1.

ance of great antiquity. The men informed me that they broke another urn in pieces in digging out the first, which pieces they likewise threw into the hole; its contents were similar to the first. I immediately repaired to the spot and dug up all the fragments I could collect, it differs materially in shape from that first described[1] and is of smaller and thinner pottery. I have collected enough of the pieces of glass (which are extremely friable) to discover that it has been a small bottle with flat sides, and which I imagine to have been a lachrymatory.[2]—In making further researches in the neighbourhood of these urns, I discovered, at nine feet distance, (south) a tomb of stone covered with two very large stones, in each of which was fixed with a cement (not lead) an iron ring.[3] The tomb contained two leaden coffins, of the most simple construction, consisting each of two pieces of lead; the bottom pieces, being turned up, formed the sides of each; and the top pieces. by being turned down at each end and a little over at the sides, formed the tops and ends of the coffins.[4] No sodder had been used, but a slight cement was laid over the coffins, which I conclude had been enclosed in wood, by several large spike nails with flat heads being found amongst the dust in the tomb. The coffins were not at all adapted to the forms of the bodies, like our modern coffins, but were in the forms of parallelograms. Upon opening the coffins, (which was done by simply lifting up the top) we found the bones of a skeleton in each, perfect, which we conjectured to be those of children of seven or eight years old, from the age of the teeth and smallness of the bones. In one of the coffins I found only a skeleton, but in the other, a very handsome gold chain,[5] ornamented with angular pieces of a bluish green stone or composition, and in the middle of each alternate link there had been pearls, which time has nearly destroyed; at the bottom of the chain was a stone set in gold, of a square form, flat, with an intaglio of an oval shape. There were likewise in the same coffin two curious rings of gold,[6] with serpents heads at the junction, used as bracelets, likewise a small gold ring[7] with a jacinth set in it."

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[1] Vide pl. viii. fig. 2.

[2] Ib. pl. viii, fig. 3. [3] ib. pl. viii, fig. 6. [4] ib. pl. viii. fig. 7.

[5] This valuable relic of the past, is now in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Rashleigh, the rector of Horton Kirby, who kindly lent the objects etched in plate iv.

[6] Vide pl. viii, fig. 4. [7] ib. pl. viii, fig. 5.

The skeletons desepelated from this sarcophagus, were reinterred in their leaden wrappers, in the chancel of Southfleet church, by the command of Mr. B. Rashleigh, then the rector.

In the autumn of 1801, Mr. Rashleigh pursued the explorations in Sole Field, the result will be found in the following letter, read at the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 11, 1802:—

"Southfleet, Feb, 2, 1802. As I have made some further progress in my researches in Sole Field, in which I have been successful, I take up my pen to send you some account of what I have recently discovered in the same spot; which I think will decidedly determine it to be a Roman burial place. Within a small distance of the former tomb, and at about three feet beneath the surface of the earth, I found a pavement of stone, of the common Kentish rag-stone, which being removed, I discovered under it, nearly in the centre, a sarcophagus, or massy stone, divided into two parts, top and bottom, very nicely fitted in a groove [6]; upon taking off the top, I found it had been excavated in an oval form, both top and bottom with a rough or coarse stonemason's chisel; in this oval recess were placed two large glass urns or vases,[7] containing each a considerable quantity of the remains of burnt bodies; both the urns were open at the top, but one of them, containing the lesser portion of bodies was filled to the brink with a transparent liquor, which did not appear to have diminished in the smallest degree, by evaporation; the liquor has no taste or smell, has no acid or alkali, but is probably some mucilaginous substance. The other urn was filled about two-thirds full with the parts of bodies, and had within it some of the same liquor, much of which had been absorbed or evaporated. Between the urns, were two pairs of shoes much decayed by time, but enough of them is fortunately remaining to shew their form, and to prove that they had been very superb. and of very expensive workmanship; they were made of fine purple leather, reticulated in the form of hexagons all over, and each hexagonal division worked with gold[8]; the dress had likewise been put into the sarcophagus, but that was reduced to tinder. On each side of

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[6] See pl. vi, figs. 3, 4. [7] Pl. vi, 5, 6. [8] Pl. iv.

this sarcophagus had been deposited large earthen urns, all of which were broken, and compressed flat upon the ashes they contained. by the weight of pavement. earth, &c., which had covered them.

" Very near the sarcophagus, and upon a level with it, was another small depôt, consisting of two earthen bottles holding about a pint each in measure, of red pottery, but empty ; and two red pans standing by their sides[9], in one of which were two small rib bones and some ashes : these were placed in a recess formed by the smooth ends of four stones, and covered by a larger one. Immediately under this had been deposited a box of wood extremely well secured by copper clamps, which were fastened by large round-headed copper nails, the wood was entirely decayed, except some parts which adhered to the clamps and nails, but entirely rotten. The stone of which the sarcophagus is made is the same kind which formed the former tomb, what I call the roe-stone, from its resemblance to the roe of fish. I have been likewise able to ascertain the foundation of the building or walls which surrounded these tombs, in extent about fifty feet square.[1]

About four years after Mr. Rashleigh's discoveries in Sole Field, some labourers employed by the surveyor of Southfleet parish, met with many human bones—portions of three skeletons,—in the western bank of the Watling-street, before its junction with the vicinal way to Springhead, adjoining to the angle formed by the road to Southfleet church. After irreverently exposing these remains, the men were ordered by a parochial authority "to chuck them back again into the hole."

From that time till May the 20th, 1845, no memorials of the perished races, who, in their day and generation regarded with complacency, the scenes

" That now know them no longer,"

had been remarked in this part of the parish. On that evening, Mr. Silvester, whilst riding by, observed in

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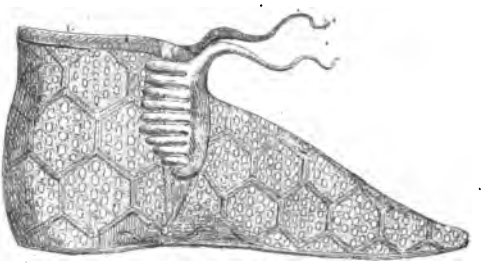
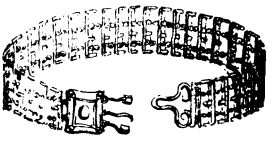
[8] See pl. v, figs. 1, 2, 3, 4. [9] Pl. v. 5, 6, 7. 8. [1] Pl. vi, 1.





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ANTIQUITIES FOUND AT SOUTHFLEET KENT

the northern road-side bank of Sole-Field, a mass of flint-work set in cement. The next day, accompanied by him and his son, we drove to the spot, and after a minute examination, were convinced, from finding two pieces of an unbaked cinerary urn and other signs, that at some antecedent period, a mortuary deposit had been violated, and its contents carelessly scattered.

A little beyond Sole Field,[2] we arrive at Barque Lands, through which runs the Watling-street in a direct course to the metropolis. At the corner of this field, upon the western side of the road, there was discovered in the bank, in June, 1845, a male skeleton. Its cranium and some other bones are preserved in Mr. Silvester's museum. The legs had lain across the road, and consequently been pulverised by the traffic. A few yards farther, a branch road, or vicinal way to the baths, deviates from Watling-street. On the south of this via militaris, were the principal buildings of the town. The field is covered with masses of foundations to such an extent, that the agriculturists assert they can trace the course of the streets during droughty seasons. We saw it last autumn, whilst a fine crop of wheat was ripening, and the varied hues clearly developed the positions of the foundations. The old road, the Watling-street, was most decisive, because a storm, two days previously, had beaten down the wheat on either side of it, (where the roots struck deeper,) and left a long line of corn luxuriantly waving in the wind. Edward Colyer, esq., the owner of the

[2]Vide p. 21 ante. Sole Field contains 25 acres, 1 rood, 16 poles. Cob Dean adjoining (between the Fawkham and Betsom roads) contains 8 acres, 2 roods, 37 poles. Barque Lands 118 a., 2 r., 10 p.

property, has promised to make an examination of the fields in which the foundations present themselves ; and his exertions will, inevitably, be rewarded by ample discoveries, such as altars, &c. &c. Mr. Smith says, in a droughty season, six years ago (1841), when it was a clover crop, that he remarked "the walls to be regularly mapped out and the angles and doorways of rooms of various sizes were sharply defined. In general, the walls appeared to be about two feet thick, but in some places they seemed to be of greater solidity."

In the spring of 1844, some workmen whilst grubbing up the shrubs in the bank immediately above the now dried-up springs which supplied the baths, on the north-eastern side of Barque Lands, which had remained, as the stubs proved, in an uncultivated condition for ages, their tools struck upon a foundation extending six feet into the field, and one foot nine inches wide ; it was constructed of surface-picked flints, embedded in mortar. The following week, whilst carefully inspecting the ichnography, the materials and their position, we picked up a beautifully executed piece of Samian ware, a fragment of a patera. The very next day, one of the labourers

"Seized, for his shade of the spoil,"

two silver coins of the lower empire in fine preservation.

The Gardens.

The first discoveries in the Gardens of which we have any record, are those made by "Watercress Jack," as he was termed—a man named Bradbury, who being unable to procure constant employment, fancied he could obtain a livelihood by the cultivation of watercresses. Impressed with this idea, he solicited permis-

sion from the owner to clear the swamp and grow cresses. The request was granted, and a green cress with a leaf barely the size of a shilling, produced and admired as the perfection of watercress culture. To be convenient to his speculation he erected a hut, and in digging the foundation for it, came upon a mass of masonry; this he opened, and his exertions were rewarded by the discovery of the remains of a Roman bath, over which the cottage at the entrance of the ground is erected.

The heaps of coins and treasures he daily turned up, whilst disturbing the quagmire, which, since the days when the desolating Saxons burned the handsome city to the ground, had remained unbroken, he neither preserved, nor regarded as possessing other value than what they produced, as old metal. And when two years after, whilst making a level and wider watercourse, he discovered an enormous quantity of horse shoes and clinkers, did he hail the event with other gratulations than "as a lucky godsend of old iron," and proceeded without delay to transmute the iron into gold by the alchemic aid of a neigbouring dealer in marine stores. By the help of these lucky waifts, but much more by his own industrious exertions, he was soon enabled to pay a rent for his occupation, and by degrees magically transformed the miserable swamp, into the pleasant gardens now on their site. Finally, he retired from these grounds, upon the receipt of a handsome premium, (£500,) and now resides in Hertfordshire.

A military gentleman named Harris was the next proprietor and he bent his energies to the improvement of the esculent vegetable for which, the demand

became daily increased. The cress which he considered the most susceptible of culture was that of the celery[3] leaf species, accordingly, he, with great labour, gradually supplanted with it the indigenous cress. The almost virgin soil repaid his assiduity with wealth—so that, he, too, after some years of toil, felt an inclination to retire, and abandoned Springhead after finding a successor at an enormous premium in Mr. Silvester Of the discoveries of Mr. Harris no record can be found. That he must have met with quantities of curiosities is certain, from the simple circumstance, that now, hardly a week passes, but coins or other valuables are discovered.

Soon after Mr. Silvester had entered upon the occupation of the territory, he was surprised at the quantity of coins, &c. his labourers were continually picking up: and after, presenting very many to curious individuals—he was advised to form a collection. This

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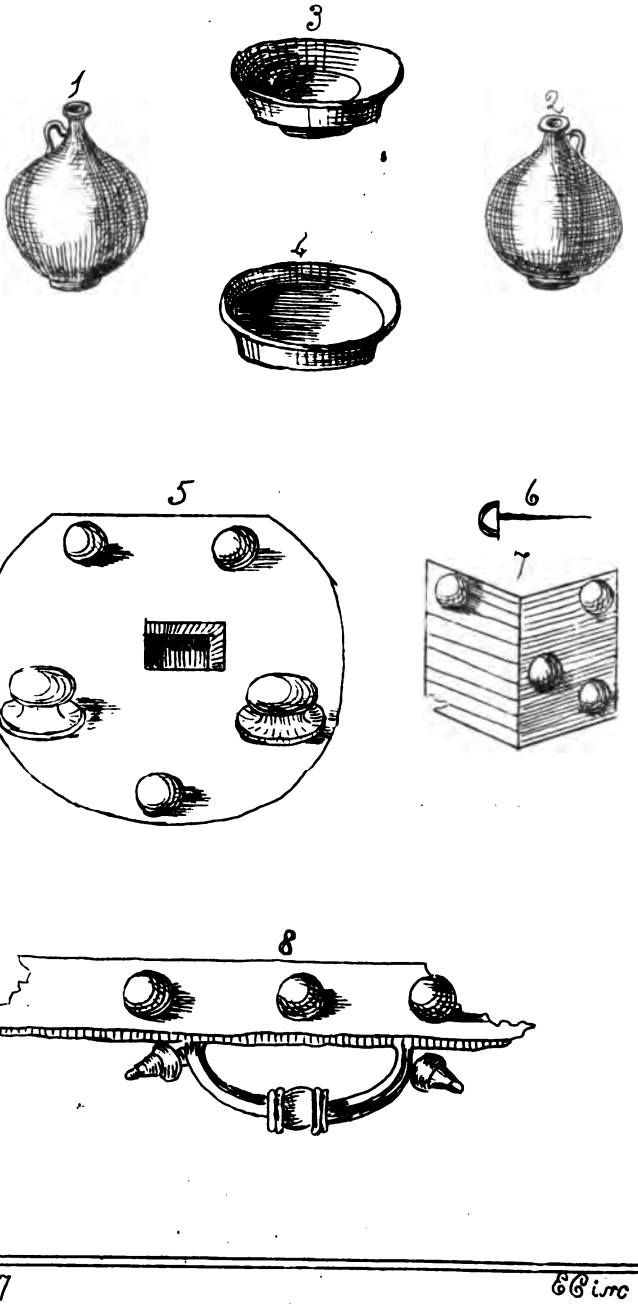
[3] Captain Harris changed the species of the cress into one with a leaf, somewhat resembling celery. The present proprietor, Mr. Silvester, by dint of perseverance, has at length procured nearly a mile of cress beds, and changed the cress into a bronze-coloured leaf, larger than a crown-piece. At one period he forwarded to the London market three different species of cress, one termed the green cress (the original and common cress of our rivers and ponds), another the celery leaf cress, and the third the cast-iron cress. The scientific name of the water cress is *Sisymbrium Nasturtium* formerly *Nasturtium Aquaticum*. It may be propagated bv seeds, or by cuttings from the stem, as is the practice of Mr. Silvester. The root itself is biennial, dying off at the end of the second year; but, as fresh fibres spring from each of the upper joints of the stem, it is a matter of no importance. The principle upon which the pungent taste of the water-cress depends, is extremely volatile, and almost entirely escapes as the leaves dry.



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advice, we rejoice to say, he adopted. The consequence has been, the collection now upon the premises. A collection we most advisedly say, unmatched in the kingdom; from the circumstance of its having been all procured from the parcel of ground in his own possession. Mr. Silvester is now erecting a museum, and (we take the credit of the suggestion to ourselves,) intends allowing all parties who are archæologically inclined, a gratuitous peep at the relics of the Roman sway in Britain.

During the summer of 1844, Mr. Silvester, whilst engaged in recovering further portions of the bog, and adapting the adjacent land to his horticultural designs, came upon heaps of fictile ware of every description and quality—bottoms of urns, amphoræ, Samian ware, &c. These fortunate discoveries have added three fresh names to our list of known English potters. The position and vast quantities of these fragments almost indisputably evinces that probably here or in Tiler's field, close by, were potteries for the manufacture of coarse and fine ware. To use the words of C. R. Smith, esq., the Secretary of the British Archæological Association, "The forms and patterns comprise almost an infinite diversity, ranging from first rude efforts, to the elegant result of perfected art."

In 1845 legal proceedings[4] were commenced by Mr. Silvester, against the surveyors of Southfleet and North-

[4] The Springhead road was very important—it not only divided two parishes and two hundreds, but its centre was also the boundary line of two divisions of the county. When the country was divided into parishes in the tenth century, roads being regarded as the most certain objects of existence were taken for the boundary marks. The Southfleet surveyors, however maintained, that the road was of no

fleet for not maintaining in good repair, the road to the Gardens. The Officers were at first exceedingly contumacious and it was not till after a vexatious defence, and the fining of the Southfleet surveyors by the justices in Petty Sessions at the Dartford Town Hall, that they submitted with a bad grace, and commenced the necessary repairs.[5]

Whilst the labourers were cutting down a portion of the Wingfield bank to widen the road, April 22, 1845, they laid bare a foot above the level of the present road, a platform composed of square tiles, 7ft. long and 2½ wide ; upon it were fragments of calcined human bones and masses of charcoal.[6] The tiles were much damaged by the action of fire.

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use to the parish—independently of which, they could not agree with the Northfleet officials as to the quantity of work each parish should perform.

[5] April 22, 1845.—*Dartford Special Sessions.*—Mr Collis, surveyor of Maidstone, reported, that he had viewed the Southfleet portion of the Springhead road—he estimated the repairs at £60, independent of the purchase of land to widen it—he further offered to complete the work in a week. Same day, Mr Hubbard, land-surveyor, ordered to make a Plan of the road, and report it an adjourned Sessions. May 20.—Plan produced, showing length of road to be 383 yds.—parish officers not present, contumacious—so "Order" signed by Justices Capt. Dyke, Malcolm and Renouard.

[6] Cremation was not an invariable practice of the Romans—whose laws forbade burning or burying in a city, from a sacred and civil consideration. The Roman burial places were either public or private. The private were usually in fields or gardens, near the highway as to be conspicuous, and recall to the wayfarer's recollection that his days were numbered; whilst, still further to impress the fact upon his mind, the inscriptions often commenced, *Siste viator, Aspice viator, &c.* After cremation the bones and ashes were col-

The following week there was discovered, also upon the Northfleet side. a small black cinerary urn, filled with ashes, together with vast quantities of pieces of black and red pottery. An amazing number of small sea shells were met with in the bank.

The only object of interest found upon the Southfleet side of the road, during these repairs, was, a skeleton, 18in. below the surface, on June 29, 1845.

The numbers of querns and pieces of querns picked up, adjacent to the heaps of pieces of pottery, prove also that a manufactory for these handmills must have existed here. A perfect half of a quern was dug up on the 16th of May, 1845, and portions of three others in the Summer of 1847. No clue to the nature of the composition of the cement can at present be conceived; and an eminent cement maker declared in 1846, that he would freely give £10,000 to find out the secret of its manufacture.

A. H. Burkitt, esq. kindly etched a plate of these querns, etc., for that learned work, the *Collectanea Antiqua*, No. 7, impressions from which accompany this account, as, *pl.* iii. *Fig.* 16. Querns are handmills, made of two portable stones—the lower a cylinder, with a bason at top, cut in it. An upper stone was fitted in it, and the corn was ground between them.

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lected, and when besprinkled with the richest perfumes, were reverently placed in an urn, and then solemnly deposited in a sepulchre or excavation in the earth; about three days after the body was burned. The punishment for the violation of a Roman tomb, was either a fine or the loss of a hand, or banishment, or death. The Southfleet and Northfleet surveyors ought to have rejoiced that these penalties was not inflicted in the year of our Lord, 1845.

In the upper stone was a hole to pour in corn, and a peg, by way of handle. The meal ran out by the sides on the cloth. It was these mills to which Matthew alludes, chapter xxiv, verse 41, "Two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be taken, and the other left." See also Luke, xvii., 35. In the illustrating plate with the querns are also representations of bells, fibulæ, fragments of Samian ware; and in the accompanying article, C. R. Smith, esq., truthfully observes,—"As yet the neighbourhood of Springhead remains free from the intrusion of the speculator, and the people of London, for a trifling expense, and at an accessible distance, can find in its walks the gratification of knowing they are really tasting something of the delights and retirement that belong to true country life. But few of the numerous visitors to the sequestered gardens of Springhead are conscious of the existence, in the locality of ought beyond the charms which nature presents, in varied luxuriance, in cultivated garden, field, and wood scenery. They dream not that the pleasures of a visit to this retired and pretty spot may be enhanced by a retrospective glance at its condition in former times, and a slight knowledge of its importance when Britain was under the civilizing influence of her Roman masters; and that the facts which supply this information are ploughed or dug out of the grounds over which they walk in unsuspecting ignorance of what lies buried beneath their feet. Where now the garden smiles and the corn waves, fifteen hundred years ago stood the dwelling of Roman colonists, and there lived and died generations of whom no written record remains and whose existence is now only to be traced in the

vestiges of their buildings, and in objects strewed over their sites, which the practised eye of the antiquary can alone identify and describe."

The Rev. Beale Post in the "Journal of the British Archæological Association," asserts in an article upon the transmission of objects of antiquity to our times, that "These remains in all parts of England have been found covered over with a depth of earth varying from four or five feet to two or three, above the higher parts of them now left; and when the superincumbent mass of earth has been removed, not only have hypocausts and tesselated pavements been often found in existence, but even frequently some small portions of the side walls, stuccoed and exhibiting the pattern of the painting and embellishments." The same author accounts for the preservation of the Roman remains in vallies in the following manner, when left in ruins after conflagration or in whatever mode the cities were destroyed by the devastating Saxons in their predatical excursions, the country being generally depopulated:— "the streams became obstructed from want of attention, and greater overflowings in periods of rain taking place than before were accustomed, the stilt, or alluvial deposit of the same reaching beyond the usual limits, would accumulate in the hypocausts and upon the floors, and gradually cover over the parts of the building which had escaped destruction. During this progress the thinness of the population, disregard for the arts, and perhaps superstitious notions, might prevent these relics from being materially disturbed. In a century or two, by the time population was somewhat recruited, they would have become concealed from observation."

List of the Roman Coins discovered at Springhead, in the Parish of Southfleet, Kent, in the possession of Mr. Silvester, July, 1845 : as far as Catalogued by C. Roach Smith, esq.

SILVER.

Consular, much worn (acquinarius)	1
Augustus	1
Vespasian	3
Trajan	1
Hadrian	1
Faustina the elder	1
Faustina the younger	1
Severus	9
Julia Domna, wife of Severus	2
Caracalla	2
Geta	1
Julia Mamaea, mother of Severus Alexander	1
Severus Alexander	2
Salonina	3
Valerian Junior.	1
Postumus	5

Of these, the earliest specimens are much worn, those of Severus and his family are plated like most *denarii* of this period. The coins of Postumus are also much deteriorated by use.

LARGE BRASS.

Domitian.	1
Hadrian	3
Sabina	1
Marcus Aurelius, (1 fine)	4
Pius	3
Faustina the elder	1
Faustina junior	2
Commodus, (much worn)	1

MIDDLE BRASS.

Antonia	1
Agrippa	2
Claudius	2
Nero	3
Vespasian	12
Titus	1
Domitian	5
Trajan	7
Hadrian	4
Pius	1
M. Aurelius	1
Lucius Verus	1
Faustina the elder	2
Lucilla	1
Caracalla.	1

SMALL BRASS.

Gallienus.	3
Victorinus	16
Marius	1
Tetricus	20
Claudius the Second	4
Carausius	3
Allectus	1
Constantine family.	63
Urbs Roma	11
Helena	3
Theodora	2
Valens.	8
Valentinian	1
Gratian	2
Rude copies of Roman coins, struck in Britain	7
Coins illegible and worn	110

There are also two or three British coins, for a description and etchings, of which vide No. 1, of C. R. Smith's "Collectanea Antiqua," a book indispensable to the Antiquary, published periodically by Nichols and Son, and by J. R. Smith, Compton street, Soho. Since the date of this catalogue, more than two hundred coins have been found.

DISCOVERY OF ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS AT NORTHFLEET, BY C. R. SMITH, ESQ.

[*Extracted from the Journal of the British Archaeological Assoc.* No XI.]

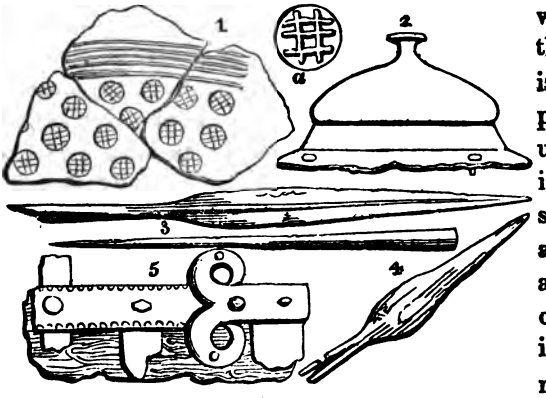
THE opinion held by the author of the foregoing pages, and which, the following[7] discoveries have tended to confirm—is, that during the fifth century, the Roman town on the banks of the river Ebbs was destroyed. (See p. 132, *ante.)* And after the Saxons had become naturalized, they adopted the heights nearer the mouth of the estuary, for their residences.

"IN the spring and summer of 1847, I was induced to make inquiries whether during the progress of railway excavations on the elevated ground at Northfleet, any antient sepulchral remains had been brought to light. I was led to watch the operations on this line, as far as almost incessant engagements at home and elsewhere would permit, because experience has now so well proved that nearly all the hills and elevated land throughout the county of Kent were chosen by the Anglo-Saxons for cemeteries, and particularly so when contiguous to towns and villages. Railroad excavations, although they often lead to curious discoveries, are not the process most favourable to antiquarian research, which requires care, circumspection, and the capacity not only to re-

[7] To elucidate this article as far as possible, the wood blocks used in the Journal published Nov. 1st, 1847, were kindly lent—for which, the author of these pages returns his best thanks.

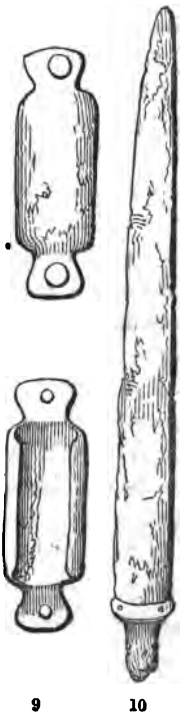
cognize objects of antiquity when met with, but to arrange and adapt them to some useful purpose; and we therefore find, that all the revelations of hidden works of early art, which have been made in railway cuttings, have been only of comparative service to archæology, simply because there has been no person present competent to seize upon and apply the facts developed by the pick-axe and the spade. This has, unfortunately, been the case with discoveries made at Northfleet, in the locality where, as I stated, I anticipated such a result. It is true, some objects have been preserved; and thanks to the care and politeness of Mr. Gale of the engineer's office, and of Mr. Stevenson, access to them has been procured; but the circumstances under which they were found have not been preserved, and their interest in consequence is impaired. Still, the discovery is authenticated, and comparison with others made under more favourable arrangements, will enable us to add this to our records as a contribution by no means valueless and unimportant.

"The annexed cut exhibits an assemblage of objects, which may be thus particularized:—fig. 1, a portion of an urn with an incuse pattern stamped on it, as at *a*; fig. 2, an iron umbo of a shield, six inches in diameter; fig. 3, a spear-head in iron, fifteen inches in length, with an iron termination to the spear when perfect, as shewn below; fig. 4, another variety of spearhead in iron, six inches in length; fig. 5, portion of a wooden pail or bucket, with bronze hoops, four inches in length: figs. 1, 2 and 4, being in the posses-



sion of Mr. Silvester, of Springhead, and figs. 3 and 5, in the collection of Mr. W. Meyrick, of 39, Eastbourne-Terrace. Hyde-Park. To these, by the courtesy of Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Meyrick, I am now able to add the following :—fig. 6, an urn in black pottery, eight and a-half inches in height.

three parts filled with burnt human bones; fig. 7, a vessel in pale clay, seven and a-half inches high; fig. 8, a rudely formed urn, six inches high, sun baked, and slightly scored on the side. Mr. Meyrick has also another variety of spear-head, and two bosses of shields, but slightly differing from that shewn in the above cut, one of which is remarkable in exhibiting perforations apparently from spear thrusts, and clearly made before it was deposited in the earth. The next object, shewn in two views, fig. 9, is like those which have been engraved in Douglas's *Nenia Britannica*, as bow braces.



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Our researches at Ozengal have enabled us to ascertain that this able antiquary, whose diligence, care, and fidelity, cannot be too highly commended, has been mistaken in thus naming these relics, and an opportunity presented itself to allow correction of the error, and at the same time to demonstrate how very important it is, in investigations of this kind, to note the positions of things *in situ* before they become dissociated from connecting facts, which often can alone determine their original use.

In a grave in the Ozengal cemetery a boss of a shield lay upon the breast of a skeleton; having been carefully removed, immediately beneath it, the hollow side uppermost, was what Douglas had termed a bow-brace, but which, from its peculiar situation, was palpably the handle of the shield or target. In the present example, as in those in the collection of Mr. Rolfe, traces of the string which bound it to wood are still apparent. The correction of this error of the author of the *Nenia* is the more satisfactory, as the bow does not appear either from remains, or from historical notices, to have been a common weapon with the early Anglo-Saxons.

"The sword shewn in the above cut (fig. 10) is somewhat different from the varieties hitherto found, which in general are upwards of thirty inches in length: this is only twenty-one and a quarter inches, and is very slightly curved at the top, like the knives so frequently found in Saxon graves. It bears traces of a wooden sheath and handle, and a small portion of a bronze fastening remains at the hilt.

No apology, it is hoped, need be offered for placing this discovery on record; for, although it has not been made under the most advantageous circumstances, the objects themselves furnish suggestions which will not be lost upon the attentive antiquary. The ornamented pottery in the first cut, which is so rudely made that by some it was conceived to be of very early date, was found by the side of the iron umbo and spear, and may from that fact be pronounced of late fabric; the pattern, moreover, accords with similar designs on specimens obtained from other undoubted Saxon burial places, and thus may assist in appropriating more questionable examples presented without weapons and other objects which admit of immediate classification. The Roman vases found with, or near the Saxon remains, furnish another to the many instances already recorded of the Saxons resorting to localities which had been previously used for like purposes by the Romans; and the presence of Saxon urns in graves which contained skeletons indicates the partial adop-

tion of usages which custom had stamped as sacred, after those usages had become superseded by others of a totally different character.

"Having suggested to Mr. Meyrick an examination of the wood still attached to the weapons in his possession, he very kindly submitted it to professor Lindley, who pronounces that adhering to the sword to be pine, and that in the groove of the spear-head, ash. The professor's opinion is confirmed by that of Mr. Girdwood; and it is an interesting fact that it is in accordance with the known practice of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. The spear-shaft was so universally made of ash (æsc), that in the old Anglo-Saxon poetry the word *ash* was constantly used as synonymous with *spear*. Thus, *Beowulf*, line 3535 :—

Swá ic Hring-Dena	Thus I the Hring-Danes
hund missera	for many a year
weold under wolcnum,	governed under heaven
and híg wígge be-leác	and secured them with war
manegum mægþa	from many tribes
geond þisne middan-geard,	throughout this earth,
æscum and ecgum.	with *spears* (ash) and swords.

In another passage in *Beowulf*, l. 654, the javelins or spears (gáras) are described as having shafts of grey ash wood :—

gáras stodon	Their javelins stood
sæ-manna searo	the weapons of the sea-men,
samod æt-gædere,	collected together,
æse-holt ufan græg.	ash-wood grey above

Æsc rof, signifies famous with (or for) his *ash* or spear; and *æsc-wiga*, a warrior who fights with the *ash* or spear. The latter occurs in *Beowulf*, l. 4079 :—

þonne cwiþ æt beore	Then will say at the beer
se þe beáh ge-syhþ	one who beholdeth the ring
eald *æsc-wiga*,	some old spear-warrior,
se þe eall ge-mon	who remembereth all
gâr-cwealm gumena, etc.	the warlike slaughter of men

"In *Cædmon*, the term *æsc-berend*, or spear carrier, is applied to a soldier. In the fragment of the poetical *History of Judith*, we have *æsc-plega*, the play or game of spears (or of ash) as a poetic term for a battle. So we have *æsc-bora*, a spear-bearer; and in *Codex Exoniensis*, *æsc-stede*, a place where ash spears are used, a field of battle.

"It should be stated, that the field in which these remains were found, is called "Church-field", a name by which, as has been remarked on a former occasion, the sites of many spots fertile in antiquities, are known."

C. ROACH SMITH.

FINIS.

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5 Dartford Parish Church from the Bridge, as it appeared previously to the alteration of the chancel window, in 1783.
6 A Coloured Engraving of the painting of St. George and the Dragon, formerly the altar piece of St. Mary's Chapel, supposed to be painted in distemper on the eastern wall about the time of Richard II., when converted into a chantry for chief justice John Martin.
7 A restored view of the Priory with the church and cloisters as they appeared temp. Hen. VII.
8 Dartford Market place as it appeared before the market house and shambles were taken down.
9 The ancient Manor House of Charles, built by W. Death, temp. Edw. VI., taken down and re-built, circ. 1814.
10 Horseman's Place, the ancient seat of the Byer's and Twisleton's taken down about 1803, by Mr. Storey, from a drawing by Dr. Latham.
11 The Phœnix Mills.
12 A Coloured Engraving of the Camp on Dartford Heath; 1780.
13 Eynsford Castle, restored.
14 Stone Church.
15 Door on south side of ditto.
16 Hall-Place, south view
17 North view of ditto.

WOOD ENGRAVINGS:

18 The Church of the (Hospitaller's) Commandery, Mrs. Mumford's, Sutton-at-Hone.
19 East end of Dartford Church.
20 West side of the Priory.
21 Wesleyan Sunday and Day school.
22 Bexley Church, south side of.
23 Independent Chapel, Lowfield street.
24 Interior of Darenth Church.
25 Episcopal Chapel, Bexley Heath.
26 St. John's Church, Sidcup.

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And copies or large extracts from the Wills of persons resident in the neighbourhood. registered in the first eleven volumes of the Archives of the see at Rochester, from 1440 to the close of the 16th century, containing references to curious subjects of which all tradition has perished, relative to parishes around Dartford, elucidating the descent of property and families; and showing with what *statues of Saints, Altars and Lights* the piety of individuals decorated their parochial *Churches* and *Chapels*, and what masses should be celebrated for the repose of the testator's and all christian souls—the name of the priest selected to sing the offices—and the sum to be paid for the performance. They also show how these practices prevailed until the alteration of religion by Henry the Eighth. The Wills made and registered in the reigns of Edward VI. Queen Mary, and until the final establishment of the protestant faith to-

wards the end of the century, convey the most vivid protraiture of the troubled state of men's minds in matters of religion; the majority evidently attached to the ancient faith, seeking by sundry unusual devices, to secure provision for the weal of their departed spirits, without by a breach of law invalidating their Testaments; whilst others animated by zeal for the progress of the reformation are half afraid to make it manifest, lest another religious revolution should brand them heretics.—The Wills also show what ceremonies prevailed, and what doles were given at the times of interment—and in the absence of all monumental evidence and family tradition, frequently specify in what part of the church or cemetery the body of the testator was laid, and the reason which made him select the spot. The volume also contains a vast mass of traditionary anecdotes relative to individuals formerly existing in the town and neighbourhood. Dr. John Latham's MS., Collections, &c.

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